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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY.

ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS
RELATING TO
ANTIQUITY,
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ARCHAEOLOGIA:
OR,
MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,
&c.

I.—*Notices of the Last Great Plague, 1665-6; from the Letters of John Allin to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake. In a Letter to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., Director, by WILLIAM DURRANT COOPER, F.S.A.*

Read 22nd May, 1856.

81, Guildford Street, Russell Square,
London, 21st May, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

AMONG the MSS. which once belonged to Samuel Jeake, the well-known editor of the Charters of the Cinque Ports, now in the possession of Morton Frewen, Esq. are 190 letters written in the years 1664 to 1674 to Mr. Philip Fryth, a solicitor at Rye, and a few to Mr. Samuel Jeake, by Mr. John Allin, sealed with the device of a pelican and its young, or the death's head and cross bones, or the arms, a chevron between three talbot's or leopard's heads, and the crest a talbot's or leopard's head. Many of these letters relate to the last grievous visitation of London by the Plague (the history of which De Foe compiled).^a They are very interesting, and I am enabled, by the kindness of T. W. W. Smart, Esq., M.D., to lay extracts before our Society in continuation of the paper of Mr. Samuel Pegge, in the sixth volume of the *Archæologia*.

The writer, John Allin, was originally vicar of Rye, to which benefice he was presented in 1653, on the resignation of William Russell, and continued vicar till

^a See also the Diaries of Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn. For the best scientific notices of the Plague see the works of Dr. Nathaniel Hodges' *Loimologia, sive Pestis Londinensis Historia*, 1665. Lond. 1671; an English translation was published in 1720; Dr. Thomas Sydenham's *Practical Method for the*

December 1662, when he was ejected under the Bartholomew Act.^a On leaving Rye he came to London and studied physic, for on the 2nd March, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$, he writes, that he had spent three days "upon an anatomie." During this year, when the Plague again broke out, he resided at Horsleydown, and seems to have practised physic, and also to have performed duty as a minister. Whilst the disease was raging most fiercely, he wrote almost weekly, and sometimes more frequently, the particulars of its progress. At first he was desirous of secrecy, and told his correspondent not to direct any letters to him by name; but on the 7th December, 1665, he writes that he is about to get a provincial licence to practise, and he hopes to obtain it, "though of late they are loath to make any so fully universall, but for 2 or 3 dioceses only;" and on the 2nd March, 166 $\frac{6}{7}$, he says, "I next week expect an universal license—ad practicandum; and this week I met with an offer to go to Oxford with a friend for one year, to work in the University chemical laboratory: if my friend take the mastership of the work, I shall get his assistant." He failed, however, to obtain the licence from his scruples about the renunciation of the covenant, saying on 8th March, 1666-7, "A physitian hath nothing at all to do either with abrenunciation of y^e covenant, nor with y^e adopting of ceremonies, and so I left them." He then went to Woolwich and practised without a licence, till December 1669, when, the world having "gone very hard" with him, he returned to London, residing near Moorfields; and I find little further trace of him.

He was son of John and Margaret Allin, of Wrentham, in Suffolk, and was born 13th October, 1623.^b It is certain, from the correspondence, that his father had emigrated to New England, and was dead before the close of the year 1673.^c

The subject of the Plague would be very interesting to Allin's former parishioners at Rye, where there was, as appears by these letters, so great a dread, that he scarcely knew to whom he could address himself. Nor was this

Cure of the Plague, 1665; Dr. Hodgson's Journal of the Plague Year; London's Remembrancer, by John Bell, Clerk to the Company of Parish Clerks, 1665; and Dr. R. Brookes's History of Pestilential Distempers, 1720.

^a Calamy's Life of Baxter, vol. ii. p. 693, where he is called Thomas.

^b Jeake's MS. Schemes of One Hundred and Fifty Nativities.

^c Searches, endeavouring to identify his father, have been made for me in Boston by the Hon. Judge (C. H.) Warren and the zealous antiquary Mr. James Savage. John Allin, the first minister of the church of Dedham, in Massachusetts, went over to New England in 1637, after being disquieted by Bishop Wren when he preached in his diocese. According to Cotton Mather (Book iii. p. 133) he was appointed to Dedham in 1638, and continued minister till his death, 26th August, 1671. Mr. Savage states that his first wife, Margaret, died in April, 1653, and that he married in November following the young widow of old Governor T. Dudley, and had three children by her; but Mr. Savage thinks he had no son John.

dread unfounded, for the town of Rye had suffered grievously in former visitations. From the register of burials there, I find that in 1544 the disease raged mostly in the months of July, when 92 persons died; of August, when 128 died; and of September, when 54 died; the whole number of burials in the year being 462. In 1563 the town was again wasted by the Plague; in August 105 died, in September 290, and in October 168, or 536 persons in three months, and 765 during the year. Seventeen years only elapsed and there was another visitation, 592 dying in the year 1580; the usual number being about 80. And so lately as 1625 (only forty years before these Letters), the town had been once more visited by this scourge, though in a less virulent form, since 198 only died within the year. No wonder, therefore, that the inhabitants of Rye should have felt great dread lest the disease should again reach their town; as indeed, according to a letter from Elizabeth Goff to her brother, Samuel Jeake, dated from London on 7th August, 1665, it was reported to have done; and Kent had at that time been slightly affected.^a

Allin set great store by a plant, which he described under the general term of "Materia prima." It was to be gathered with great mystery, and preserved with much care, for the purposes of distillation; and he intended, in September, 1665, to set up "divers chemical stills and one furnace for the main worke." He was a disciple of Paracelsus, who says that "the saline spirit unites with the earthy principle, which always exists in the liquids, but in a state of *materia prima*." The plant was the *Nostock commune* (Vauch.), *Tremella nostock* (Linn.), and formerly known under the name of *cælifolium*, as the popular belief was that it fell from heaven in the night. Paracelsus gave to it the name of *nostock* or *cerefolium*. It appears to be like a species of jelly, sometimes clear, sometimes

^a In a letter in the State Paper Office from Sir Thomas Peyton, dated from Knowlton, 7th August, 1665, to Joseph Williamson, he says, "At Canterbury there were four houses shut up, but are all upon opening againe, there dying but one person of all diseases in that citty the last weeke. At Dover I hope the danger is ended, the family infected being removed to the hills, where the remnant is become sound agen. One parish in the countrey, being the minister's owne house, is infected, about three weekes since, which standing alone will I hope prevent the spreading, and wee have taken all the care possible wee can in it, but being harvest time wee find it difficult without good watches to keepe people in good order. God I hope will stay it here. That one parish of St. Giles at London hath done us all this mischief:" and Mr. Carew writing to Mr. Williamson from Dover on 12th August, 1665, hopes the Court as free from infection as they are there; "only one house wee keep shutt upp, yet not one dead out of itt these three weekes, nor sickness neer us but at Sandw^{ch}; one house shutt upp at Eastey near Sandw^{ch}; one house at the Earle of Winchelsees Park, called East Well House; and West Well one house; and att Canterbury seven houses shutt up, yet but a few dead out of them."

greenish, and agitated with a tremulous motion so long as it is fresh. It generally appears between the vernal and autumnal equinoxes after rain, in dry, parched, and sandy soils, and must be gathered before sunrise, since by the heat of the sun's rays it is so dried and shrivelled up that nothing of it remains except some membranes of a brownish colour. By distillation it gives a dark fetid oil, an alkaline liquor containing acetate and carbonate of ammonia, or volatile urinous spirit; the residuum burnt gives phosphate and carbonate of lime. The alchymists took it to contain the universal spirit, and an extract to be the solvent of gold. It was also accounted excellent in cancers and fistulas. A Swiss physician reduced it to a powder, of which he exhibited two or three grains, in order to lessen and allay internal pains, and he used it externally for the cure of ulcers, which it is said to cure, however "obstinate and rebellious they may be."^a Hence, possibly, its use during the Plague. The ammonia was the chief ingredient of its utility for this purpose. Allin, however, must have been dabbling in alchymy.

This "materia prima" was collected by one Shoesmith, who was afterwards requested by a London correspondent of Jeake the younger (Tho. Miller) to collect and send some of the "moss that grows on dead men's skulls and bones,"^b since his "father saith he has formerly seen a greate deale at Winchelsea, in or neare the church."

Allin, like his friend Jeake, was a great astrologer, and the correspondence commences with accounts of those blazing stars, which were looked upon as so ominous. On 20th December, 1664, Allin, writing to Fryth, says, "Y^e cheife discourse is of a blazing starr, as famous as that in November, 1618, I thinke: y^e city was last night setting up to see it." It was looked on as propitious to England, but ominous to France and Holland, rising about east, and setting south-west, about two or three in the morning. On 27th December it is described as of a great deal higher altitude than the former, and was to be seen all the evening, about seven o'clock, south-east of about 60° altitude, whilst the former was never seen "above 12° high in our horizon." And on 31st March, 1665, it is said that a new blazing star had appeared every day since Monday morning, rising about north-east, at one or two o'clock in the morning, and so continuing till daylight hid it: "it is more famous than y^e last was seene here in the evening;"

^a James's Med. Dict. (1725), vol. ii. title, *Cœlifolium*: Merat and Lens' Dict. Mat. Med. (1835), title *Nostock*; Notes and Queries, vol. xi. pp. 219, 294.

^b This was the *Usnia barbata*.

whilst on the 6th January Allin declared that Mr. Secretary Morris's cistern of water was turned into blood in one night, and so continued for two or three days, when the next neighbours had no such accident; which ominous matter, as well as the fact that the Royal Mary was not able to swim, but sunk her lower tier guns under water, "troubled their heads at Court."^a

According to Graunt's bills of mortality, the first case of the last Plague in London occurred on 27th December, 1664: there were some cases in February and the next two monthis; but a "hard frost lasted from Christmas till the middle of April, when the Plague began to break out, a little after the breaking up of the frost."^b The disease spread in St. Giles in May: it then extended itself rapidly over London in June and July; was at its height in August and September; and continued with more or less intensity during the remainder of that year.

On 8th April, 1665, John Allin writes to Philip Fryth, "Or fleete is sickly, and y^e sicknesse increases at Yarmouth^c; about 3 or 4 died last weeke, and about 4 or 5 families in y^e pest-house." On 27th April, he says, "I heard yesterday there are 2 houses shut up in Drury Lane for the sickness;" and a month afterwards, on 26th May, he writes, "Y^e sicknesse is s^d to encrease in Holland, as it also doth here; y^e bill mentioned 3 last weeke, and 14 this weeke, but its rather beleived to bee treble the number. At y^e upper end of the towne p^rsons high and low are very fearfull of it, and many removed; one house, if not two, are lately shut in Chancery Lane, and one about Cripplegate."

^a On 24th February, 1664-5, he gives an illustration of the strange stories then afloat. "Some strange appearances have beene lately in Scotland. At a greate towne within this month appeared a greate army of men, w^{ch} came to the towne and demanded free quarter. Y^e officers of y^e towne demanded of the soldjers to shew why y^ey came and what order they had for free quarter, to w^{ch} they replied, 'Yey^d neither shew y^m one nor the other,' but worded it so wth y^m that free quarter was granted them; but before morning about 2^o of y^e clocke appeared a light as large as the sun (y^e reports say y^e sun itselfe), and continued a greate while together, till at last both light and soldjers together at y^e same time vanished. Since y^t, at Northampton, w^{re} the walls are taken downe, y^e castle remayning, in y^e night, many being upon y^e watch, the castle-gates opened of themselves without hands; at w^{ch} they all admired and endeavoured all they could to shutt the gates agayne, but all the strength they could make was not able to prevayle for the shutting the gates;—after sometime that were thereby, as it were, p^rpared for w^t might follow, there came this voice, iterated three times over, 'Warr—warr—warr, such as never was yet;' after that y^e gates were pliant to open and shutt as at other times. On Monday last was sennight, at night was seene by (some say) hundreds for about an houre together flames of fire as it were throwne from W. H. (Whitehall) to St. James; and thence backe againe to W. H. and then disappeared. Upon y^e top of this came yesterday the sudaine newes of the Dutch tyeing, as 'tis s^d, about 1,500 tyed backe to backe and throwne over board."

^b Autobiography of Dr. Symon Patrick, Oxford, 1839, p. 51.

^c See note post, p. 8.

In June the "remedies and medicaments" for preventing the spreading of contagion and disinfecting houses infected, propounded by James Angier, and stated to have been tried with success at Lyons, Paris, Toulouse, and other cities, was, by order of the Council, tried in the house of Jonas Charles, in Newton Street, St. Giles's, in the presence of the justices of Westminster; and, on their favourable report, Lord Arlington, on the 26th June, authorised advertisements to be issued naming places where these remedies could be bought.^a The number of deaths from Plague within the bills of mortality during this month was 590.

In the month of July the pestilence spread rapidly, and on 1st July Allin speaks of the state of the city for sickness, and the increasing bill, "w^{ch} makes many flee out of towne."

At a Court holden at St. James's on the 6th July, a proclamation was issued stating that the spreading of the disease into remote parts of the kingdom seemed to threaten a general and most dreadful visitation, and appointing as fast-days the 12th July and 2nd August, and the first Wednesday in every subsequent month.^b Mr. Robert Cole has also furnished me with a letter, found among the mutilated Exchequer records, from Sir Robert Long, Auditor of the Exchequer, to his clerk Burgess, dated 5th July, in which, after alluding to the payment of Tom Killigrew's pension and other financial matters, he thus concludes: "I pray vse all possible care to preserve yourselves and my house. Send for things to burne, and make vse of them dayly; lett noe body stirre out, nor any suitors come into the house or office. Lett euery one take euery morning a little London treacle,^c or the kernell of a walnutt, with five leaves of rue and a grayne of salt beaten together and rosted in a figg, and soe eaten; and neuer stirre out fasting. Lett not the porter come into the house; take all course you can agaynst the ratts, and take care of the cattis; the little ones that will not stirre out may be kept, the great ones must be kiled or sent away." Allin, writing to Jeake on July 7th, 1665, says, "Y^e sicknesse increaseth dayly much about y^e city: y^e generall bill yesterday was 1,006, and of y^e Plague 470, but rather feared to be nearer 700."

The Court left town, and the councils were held at Syon House on 19th July and at Hampton Court on 24th and 26th July. On the latter day a proclamation was issued for removing the receipt of the Exchequer from Westminster to

^a MS. State Paper Office, Domestic, June 1665.

^b A form of prayer was issued. The fasts were kept regularly, except on All Souls' Day, 1666, till the Plague was stayed.

^c This was a favourite preventative.

Nonsuch. . On the following day the Court removed to Salisbury, and thence in September, when the Plague had broken out in Salisbury, to Oxford, from which city a proclamation was issued on 26th September, adjourning thither Michaelmas term in the law courts.

The disease continued to increase in London, and in the letter from Allin to Fryth, dated July 26th, 1665, the following account is given: "I confesse the sicknes doth encrease and spread, though none very neere mee yet; thanks bee to God. I heare y^e generall bill this weeke wilbee about 2,500, and the p^ticular of y^e Plague neere 2,000, but I know not the certainty till the morning. I thanke God I goe about my buisines without any slavish feare of it; yet my body too apt for such a disease, which proves very mortal where it comes: many whole families of 7, 8, 9, 10, 18 in a family totally swept away. I thinke there is no fleeing from God's hand, and truely this sicknes so highly pestilential in some places speakes it to be more a judgment than any thing else, and true repentance is the best antidote, and pardon of sin the best cordiall."

The whole number of deaths from pestilence in July was 4,119.

It appeared to be a little on the decrease, for Allin writes to Fryth on August 5th, 1665,—“Through mercy I am yet well, and the sicknes not very neere me, though in the parish (St. Olave's). This last weekes bill of mortality, through mercy, did not increase like the former weekes, beeing but 229 in all increase, and y^e sicknes in some places then decreased; though this wee feare (as wee then also did) an higher increase. Now looke for some *materia prima*."

The holding of many fairs was prohibited.^a

Allin's fear was but too well founded, as we shall see by subsequent letters written by him to Fryth. He writes on Aug. 11th, 1665, in answer apparently to a suggestion that he should leave town,—“I shall not thinke myselfe safer there (Rye) then here, whilst my call is to stay here; yet I am troubled at the approach of the sicknesse neerer every weeke, and at a new burying place w^{ch} they have made neere us, and wth some piece of indiscretion used in not shutting up, but rather makeing greate funeralls for such as dye of the distemper; which yet I thinke God will not putt an end to till sin be left and suppressed more then

^a On 14th June a proclamation was issued not to hold Barnwell Fair on 24th, for fear of infection at Cambridge, which was then free and clear. Proclamation was likewise issued at Salisbury on 7th August, prohibiting Bartholomew Fair, London; Stourbridge Fair, Cambridge; and all other fairs within fifty miles of London; all citizens and inhabitants of London were also prohibited from attending any fairs till the infection should cease; and, to prevent a concourse to places yet free, Howden Fair, and all other fairs in the county of York, were prohibited as well; as also on 21st September was Wantage Fair, in Berks, "to which there was usually extraordinary resort;" and on 26th December Saint Paul's Fair, Bristol.

it is: but God seemes to psue a designe w^{ch} doubtlesse Hee will efect before Hee hath done. 4,030 in all; 2,817 Plague. 142 in all, 64 Plague, in our parish." Again, Aug. 18, 1665, "Through mercy I am hitherto well, and all our next neighbours, but the sickness increaseth: 5,319 this weekes bill in generall, and 3,880 in the bill of the Plague, of which disease Mr. Symond Porter, Mr. Miller's brother-in-law, dyed last Tuesday: I am afrayd to write to Mr. Miller of it, least hee should bee afrayd of my letter; but pray let him know of his brother's death." On Aug. 24th, 1665,—“I am, through mercy, yet well in midst of death, and that, too, approaching neerer and neerer: not many doores off, and the pitt open daily within view of my chamber window. The Lord fitt mee and all of us for our last end! Surely, if my friends be afrayd of my letters, I would not be afrayd of theirs. The sicknes yet increaseth: this bill is 249 more then y^e last, viz.—of all diseases, 5,568; of the Plague, 4,237: but rather in verity 5,000, though not so many in the bill of y^e Plague. Here are many who weare amulets made of the poison of the toad, which, if there be no infection, workes nothing, but, upon any infection invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, w^{ch} a plaister heales, and so they are well: phaps I may by y^e next get the true p^rparation of it, and send you. The sickness at Yarmouth,^a Dover, and Southampton^b I heare is much increasing yet: 3 houses last weeke shutt up in Dover.^c I saw this day some ‘prima materia’ in o^r streetes.”

August 29th, 1665.—“Y^e sicknes here is very much increased: this weeke I feare y^e bill wilbee neere double the former; and truely I know not how to thinke it should lessen, when as the greatest thing done to stoppe it, viz^t. takeing y^e phanatickes out of their owne houses, and sometimes caught meeting and carrying them to infected prisons, of w^{ch}. wee have none free, wilbee found in the end to heighten it, though its s^d one major of y^e soldjers hath threatned by that meanes

^a No less than 2,500 died in Yarmouth of the Plague in this year, including both ministers of the church.—Swinden, p. 950. One of these ministers was another John Allin, who came over from New England, having taken his bachelor's degree in Harvard University in 1643.—Ex inf. Mr. James Savage. The disease had abated at the end of November, and on 4th December the Oxford Gazette announced that the whole bill of Yarmouth was thirteen, and only one of the Plague.

^b In consequence of the loss of the registers the Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A. has not been able to give me the mortality in Southampton. Mr. John Buller's Hist. Particulars of Southampton (1820) states that the tradition was that the disease was introduced through infected child-bed linen. The poor were nearly starving; the King on being petitioned for pecuniary and medical relief promoted a subscription to which he gave 50*l*.; the Earl of Southampton 50*l*.; Salisbury and Bristol cities also contributed; in the whole nearly 2,000*l*. were raised.

^c It was brought to Dover by a young person who had been in service in London, and 900 at least died of it.—Hasted's Kent, iv. 97. See also note, ante, p. 3.

quickly to drive that plague away:—remember that there wilbee little ‘prima materia’ found after a rainy, but most in a dry night after a rainy day or weather, the wind south-west.”

On August 30th a proclamation was issued commanding Parliament to meet at Oxford on October 9th, instead of Westminster on 3rd of the latter month.

No less than 20,046 had died in August, and yet it was not the most fatal month.

On September 2nd, 1665, Allin says,—“Y^e sicknesse encreased very much last bill, viz. 1,928 increase; y^e totall, 7,496; of y^e Plague, 6,102. Since that bill I have not p^ticularly heard anything whither still increasing or not, but feare, by the dolefull and almost universall and continuall ringing and tolling of bells, it doth increase. I am sure it approacheth to mee, I meane my concernem^t: for it hath pleased God to take from mee the best friend I have in y^e world, and one wherein my children^a stood as much concerned as in myself wth reference to what they should have expected from the relations of my wife: it is my brother, Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lord’s day last, in the morning; towards evening a little ill, then tooke something to sweate, w^{ch} y^t night brought forth a stiffness under his eare, where he had a swelling y^t could not be brought to rise and breake, but choacked him; he dyed Thursday night last. I blesse God I am well; was not with my brother after wee see what it would bee, as little else upon every distemp^r here can be expected: it is a greate mercy now counted to dye of another disease.”

On September 7th, 1665, he tells Fryth of the remedy attempted for the purification of the streets:—“The increasing sickenes hath now drawne very nigh mee, and God knoweth whither I may write any more or no: it is at the next doore on both hands of mee, and under the same roofo . . . ; but I have no place of retireing, neither in the city nor country; none in heaven nor earth to go unto but God onely; the Lord lodge mee in the bosom of his love, and then I shall be safe whatever betides. . . . There is in my deske a little booke new written, I intituled it ‘Liber Veritatis:’ it is the true use of the elixir magnū for phisicke, pfitt, or delight, given by a true master of the arte to a friend, whence I transcribed it. I would have Mr. Jeake to have that, and you to transcribe it; but bee sure to keepe it both of you as a secrett. If I live I hope to have some *materia prima* from you; if you could inclose a little dust in a letter I shall be glad to receive it. This weekes bill is increased 756: the wholle is 8,252; of the Pl. 6,978; and in our parish 439, about 120 increase in our

^a He had three children, John, Elizabeth, and Hannah.

parish, and it is truly still increasing. These 3 dayes hath bene sea cole fires made in the streetes about every 12th doore, but that will not do y^e worke of stopping God's hand; nothing but repentance will do that, of w^{ch} no signe yett, but oppressions, &c. yet increasing."

At length, as in the recent visitations of cholera, though the number of cases increased the per-centage of recoveries was larger. Allin writes on September 14th, 1665,—“This sicknes, though more dye, because more are infected, yet, thankes bee to God, is not so mortall as at the first, for more recover of it now then formerly. It is increasing in our parish about 39, this weekes bill beeing 478. If wee knew how to trust the bills, it is decreased in the generall. The generall bill is 7,690 buried this weeke, whereof of the Plague 6,544; yet in the City it did increase, beeing 1,154, of the Plague 896; y^e last weeke 1,118, Pl. 854. Our friend Dr. Starkey is dead of this visitation, wth about 6 more of them chymicall practitioners, who in an insulting way over other Galenists, and in a sorte over this visitation sicknes, which is more a judgment then a disease, because they could not resist it by their Galenical medicines, w^{ch} they were too confident y^t their chymical medicines could doe, they would give money for the most infected body they could heare of to dissect, which y^ey had, and opened to search the seate of this disease, &c.; upon y^e opening whereof a stinch ascended from the body, and infected them every one, and it is said they all are dead since, the most of them distractedly madd, whereof G. Starkey is one. I heare also y^t above 7 score d^{rs}, apothecarys, and surgeons are dead of this distemp in and about y^e City since this visitation. God is resolved to staine the pride of all glory; there is no boasting before Him, and much lesse agst Him.”

During this pestilence there lived as rector of St. Paul, Covent Garden, Symon Patrick, who was afterwards successively Bishop of Chichester and of Ely; he returned to town in July, and thenceforth performed in his parish all the offices of religion, visiting the sick, and burying at night those who had died of diseases other than the Plague. On 19th August, 1665, he published “A Brief Exhortation to those who are shut up from our Society, and deprived at present of Public Instruction;” and on the 1st September he printed “A Consolatory Discourse, persuading to a cheerful Trust in God in these times of Trouble and Danger.”^a He also kept up an active correspondence with Mrs. Gauden, a transcript of which is to be found among the Cole MSS.:^b it gives many details of the Plague in his

^a Both reprinted by Pickering in his *Christian Classics*, 1847.

^b Wife of Dr. J. Gauden, minister of Bocking, Essex.—Add. MS. 5810, fol. 289, &c. See also his *Autobiography*.

own parish, where his conduct procured him the esteem of all; and it also adds to Allin's particulars relating to the medical men the names of the ministers of religion who fell victims to the faithful discharge of their duties. Writing on Saturday night, September 30th, 1665, Dr. Patrick says,—“You inquire what ministers were dead. Mr. Peachill and Mr. Mandrill, who were lecturers, dyed a good while ago: one of them lectured at St. Clement, the other at St. Benet Fink. Since, there dyed one Mr. Austin, minister, I think, of St. Mary's Stanings; the minister of Alphage, whose name I think was Mr. Stone;^a one Mr. Bastwick (son to the famous doctor of that name), who was preacher of the Counter, in the Poultrye: Mr. Welbank, one of the ministers of St. Saviour's Southwark; Mr. Throgmorton, curate of St. George's Southwark; and a gentleman who officiated for Mr. Hall, in Basishaw , whose name I think was Phillips The minister of Kentish Town hath had it, and is recovered. I think I have heard of another or two who were curates, but no more ministers.” In his letter of 7th October he says,—“I must correct an error in my last but one; Mr. Welbank is not dead, as was reported: it is the curate, one Mr. Knightley, who they say did not die of the sickness neither. This was the occasion of the report that Mr. Stillingfleet was dead, the reader of St. Andrew Holborn dying a good while ago; but, as for Mr. Stillingfleet, he hath not been here a long time, but gets his place supplied by somebody.”

The death of a mutual friend of Allin and Fryth affords occasion for the most interesting letter of the series, giving a full description of the mode in which the Plague attacked parties, and of its varied symptoms.

“September 20th, 1665.

“Loveing ffriend,—Yo^{rs} of the 16^t ins^{nt} I have rec^d, and give you hearty thanks for that particular accompt you gave me of yo^r affayres. If I can possibly gett time I thinke to write to you againe on Thursday; but I thought it not amisse, for the inclosed's sake, to write a few lines now, and to give you my thoughts of the death of Tolhurst's sister. According to yo^r description of her, there hath not one of those thousands yet dyed here with all the signall characters of this p^{re}sent Plague more evident than she had, w^{ch} this inclosed will in parte confirme to you; I shall onely add a little of my owne thoughts in generall as to the first seizing of this distemper upon one, and then give a word about the curative parte. For the 1st. If the infection be taken by the scent or smelling, and ariseth from the ill and more grosse savour of a foggy infected aire, or the corruption of an infected person or place, then it ordinarily seizeth onely at the first upon the meninges of

^a Tim. Long was rector.

the braine by y^e meanes of the p^ocessus mammillares or papillares, as the exterior parte of the smelling nerves are called, and so suddenly afflicts y^e party with an inveterate headache, which suddenly also creepes all over; but if the vapour or aire by the scent rec^d as afores^d be more subtill, thinn, and spirituous, y^e infection then not onely afflicts as afores^d wth headach, but is by the very rootes of the smelling neerves carryed into the substance of the braine, and immediately putts the party into a kind of frenzy, which is very difficult to reduce, especially if the vigour of the infection be p^ocured or heightened by a melancholy feare, sudden fright, or strong imagination. If the infection be received by the halitus, or breath, it now immediately afflicteth the heart, y^e root of the vitall spirits, and some time kills before any external and generally believed symptomes of that distemper can appeare, either spotts or tumors, but allways invades y^e party with sudden and sharpe fainteing fitts; and for that nature, which is never idle, but always buisied about its owne p^oservation, attractes all the heate (y^t nature can afford) towards the heart to resist the venom of the infection, hence ariseth that universal chillnes y^t invades the external and extreme parts of the body like an ague, and must be attended with all speedy and wary proceedings. If any one contracts the infection to himselfe by a sudden or over heateing of the blood, as by over hott or too much strong liquors, or too sudden and violent motions, or yet over chill the blood by cold or small liquors, or too fast cooling after such violent motion, one whereof exhausts the s^opts, the other suffocates y^m by contraction, both which I may call a surfett of s^opts rather than of humours, then the liver is first afflicted, and the natural s^opts principally hurte, hence want of appetite to eate, and want of concoction if they eate. When it is by y^e blood over heated, then sharpe choler abounds in the gall, and that overflows; and y^t afflicting the mouth of the stomacke causeth a nauseousnesse and p^ovocation to vomitt; and in p^ocesse of time, though but in a very short time, is this acute disease; by the communication of the veines and nerves, the diaphragma comes to be afflicted, and, by its consent with the braine, a kind of furor or madness doth ensue, besides a difficulty of breathing, the diaphragma being one organ y^t assists the breath; then also, by the communication of strings from y^e diaphragma to the pericardium, that and the heart is also speedily afflicted, and hence also (as very quickly in any infection wth the Plague which way soever happening) arise greater fainting fitts. If this infection bee contracted by chilling the blood as afores^d, then is there bred a kind of choler adust, or y^t kind of melancholy, which the spleene beeing the cheife receptacle of and thereby swelling, there thence arise a greate difficulty of breathing, and as if it were a narrowness

of the breast by the dilation of y^e parts within; and as it were a kind of weight there pressing doune and oppressing y^t parte, and almost suppressing both the breath and the spirits at once. If the infection be bred in one through the putrefaction of tumours abounding in the body, as sometimes it is—and allways this distemp^r tends speedily to such a putrefaction, through corrupt aliments or want of digestion,—then are the stomacke and gutts primarily afflicted, whence ariseth a greate looseness, which quickly wasts and consumeth all, and carry life away too in a shorter time. Concerning y^e external effects of this internall infection, there are these 3, with one or more or all of w^{ch} this distemp^r is usually attended, botches, blaines, and carbuncles, to which I may add a fourth, spotts cōmonly called the tokens, and are very symptomatical, never ariseing till the full state of the disease, even when deathe stands at the doore; for very few or none live that are so markt. For the botches or pestilential bubos, they usually arise but in 3 places, whereof the principal emunctorys of the body are;—behind or under the ears when the braine is afflicted; under each arme when the heart or vitalls are inflicted; in the groynes principally when the liver is afflicted. The blaines and carbuncles may and doe arise generally in any parte of the body, necke, face, throate, backe, thighs, armes, leggs, &c., and all of them very hard and obstinate to be dealt withall, and must have severall pceedings with them; and if any of them, after once appearing, either fall or retire backe againe, it is a very bad and dangerous symptome. The botches sometimes rise to a very greate buiggness, especially under the armes and in the groines; if so under the ears they quickly choake or kill with paine, there being no roome for them to bee extended: if they rise something in an oblongish forme, and red at the first, it is so much the better then if round, though as they grow to more maturity they will tend to a more round forme, as they come to ripen, especiall on the topp; if they rise white it argues coldnes and want of heate and s^pt to drive them out, and must bee y^e more carefully helpt forwards with internal drivers and externall drawers. The blaines rise first like blisters, but not puffy, as if sweld with wind or water, but hard, not yielding to the touch; but if they come forward to any maturity (w^{ch} they are very difficult to bee brought to, and many dye if they have blaines), there wilbee a very hard and knotty bunch of corrupt matter in them. The carbuncles, though y^t it may bee rise onely like a pinn's head, yet psently rise up to a pointed boile, very hard; sometimes firey red, sometimes black, and sometimes blewish in places; red the best, y^e others worst. All of these riseings, if they bee acurately observed at the first (but especially the carbuncles and blaines), have a particular symptome annexed to them, viz., they are generally circled about with red or blew circles,

sometimes with both; sometimes they are broader then a bare circle, one within another: y^e red colour argue the small blood affected or choler abounding; the blewish argue the arteriall blood from the hearte affected; the blacke choler adust or melancholy; white, the putrefactions of cold and crude humors most. For y^e spotts or tokens, w^{ch} most generally are fforerunn^rs of certaine death, they doe more generally this yeare then formerly appeare in divers parts of the body, formerly usually and allmost onely to be found upon y^e region of the hearte and liver, or the brest, or ag^t it on the backe; but now on y^e necke, face, hands, armes, almost any where as well as there; sometimes as broad as farthings, therefore called tokens; sometimes this yeare as broad as an halfecrowne; sometimes smaller; but always of more colors than one. If they bee observed at first riseing sometimes with a red circle without, and blew wthin; sometimes with a blew circle wthout and red within; sometimes one more bright red, the other blewish or darker, sometimes blacker; y^e blew from y^e arteriall, y^e red from y^e venall blood affected, the blacke from melancholy as is afores^d. Of y^e swellings, or mixt as the infection is mixed more or lesse, these usually come forth about the state of the disease, when nature hath done its utmost to expell, but cannot conquer; which endeavours to expel y^e utmost, send forth these externall symptomes of it; and generally wⁿ these come out y^e party seemes not so sicke as before, but dye p^sently, wthin a day or 2 at y^e utmost after. Many times this distemper strikes y^e vitalls so immediately, y^t nature hath not time to putt forth either spotts or blotches, and then it is the highest infection, most p^ply called the Pestilence, and not the Plague; but done by a more immediate stroake of the destroying Angell. But, if such bodyes bee kept a little length of time after death, sometimes spotts will then arise w^{ch} did not before, especially whilst any warmth remayne in the body; but how many are therefore deceived, because either they view the body onely i^mmediately when dead, or bury them whilst warme; others, wickedly to conceal y^e hand of God, will drive them in agayne, and keepe them in wth colde and wett cloths.”

The foregoing is the whole of J. Allin's account of the disease; his promise of “a word on the curative parte,” if performed, does not stand on record as such among these letters, in several of which he subsequently alludes to it, and with the apology of not having time to take it in hand.

Writing on the same day to Mr. Jeake, Allin follows up the subject, and by his expressions shews how great was the fear of conveying contagion, even in letters:

" September 20, 1665.

"It is some refreshing to mee to thinke you are yet willing to receive a line from mee. It was an affliction to mee that I knew not to whom I might send a letter with acceptance (except Mr. Fryth onely). I am afrayd that some of my friends there are this day too much afrayd where no feare need to bee, for were my penn infectious my hand would soone let it drop. . . . Gracious Mr. Cobb (one w^m God sometimes imployed in the worke of comforteing and supporting others in this darke and gloomy day of the Lord), w^o yet fell by this sicknes, and last Lord's Day entered into his father's bosome. . . . Clouds are gathering thicker and thicker, and I thinke veryly the day of the Lord will yet prove more blacke. Whither the Lord will make good that word spoken by a child here concerning the increase of y^e Plague, till 18,317 dye in a weeke (which all indeavours are used to conceale), though still goeth on in reality to increase it: and that word too of a yeaes time of greate and sad persecution, spoken by y^e same mouth after death had once cooled it in this visitation, time will show."

Two days afterwards Allin continues his communications to Fryth, and advises a charmed preventative :

" September 22, 1665.

"It is yet increasing. In our parish this bill is raised about 50: y^e whole bill is 8,297: Plague 7,165: increased in all this weeke 607. Much rageing now in the city. . . . Freind get a piece of angell gold, if you can of Eliz. coine (y^t is y^e best), w^{ch} is phylosophicall gold, and keepe it allways in yo^r mouth when you walke out or any sicke persons come to you: you will find strange effects of it for good in freedome of breathing, &c. as I have done; if you lye wth it in your mouth w^{thout} yo^r teeth, as I doe, viz. in one side betweene your cheke and gumms, and so turning it sometimes on one side, sometimes on y^e other."

On 27th September, 1665, he says, "I am where y^e Lord hath hitherto, amidst 100 dyeing weekly, p^{rserved} me, and yet through mercy am in health, the Lord be prayسد. The Lord hath decreased this weekes bill 1,837; there dyeing this weeke but 6,400: Pl. 5,533; and in our parish there was 50 decreased; but it is still very hot near me: I fear it will increase with you. If you send any *prima materia* in a glasse I pray cover it over wth paper, and double seale it that nothing of it bee seene." But on 30th September, 1665, he is forced to admit that "since y^e last bill y^e sicknes is againe increaseing and very much about us;" and in truth September was the most fatal month; the number of deaths from the Plague being 26,230.

It then became less serious in London. On October 5, 1665, Allin says, "The sicknes is now still decreaseing about 740, this bill being in all but 5,720, whereof of the Plague 4,929." Nevertheless, it was spreading through the eastern and other counties. On the same day Sir Wm. Clarke, writing from the Cockpit at Westminster to the Court, says, that, though the visitation was ceasing in London, he heard that it spread much in the country, and was in twenty several parishes in Buckinghamshire.^a And Allin, writing on October 7, tells his friend "The sicknes is now very hot at the next house to us one way, but hath beene neerer, though none of our family hath been ill at all yet, through mercy. What with some imploym^t on Lord's dayes, at other dayes sometimes, in this scarcity of ministers (many being dead, though more fled), I am streightened in time. At Yarmouth, Colchester,^b Ipsw^{ch},^c the sicknes is very much, and now pretty much at Norw^{ch};^d Southampton^e reported to bee almost depopulated." Matters, however, still mend in London. On 14th October, 1665, he writes, ". . . . This

^a State Paper Office, Domestic, October, 1665.

^b It began to appear at Colchester 14th August, 1665, and continued till 7th December, 1666, during which time there died 4,731 persons, of whom 195 died in the week between 15th and 22nd June, 1666. —Morant's Essex, vol. i. p. 74. In the London Gazette, No. 70, 12th to 16th July, 1666, it is said that the infection was spreading extremely in Suffolk and Essex, and with such violence "as to leave many of those places fit objects for the charitable relief of other parts of the kingdom." This was liberally afforded: 59*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* had been collected by the Mayor of Exeter for the relief of Colchester, and the sum of 1,311*l.* 10*s.* was raised from weekly collections in the churches of the metropolis.—Cromwell's Colchester, p. 163. And, in consequence of the certificate of the justices of Essex that many other places besides Colchester were visited by the sickness, the assizes appointed to be holden at Brentwood on 9th August were directed not to be holden.—Gazette, No. 70.

^c In consequence of the pestilence no fair was held at Ipswich on 14th September, 1666. So many inhabitants left the town that the rates could not be collected. All public funerals were prohibited, and the bell was to toll only a quarter of an hour before any burial.—Clarke's Ipswich, p. 50.

^d From 3rd October, 1665, to 3rd October, 1666, there died in Norwich 3,012 persons; of the Plague, 2,251. In one week, 22nd to 29th August, 1666, there died 203.—Blomefield's Norwich, i. 410. The returns of deaths in 1666 appeared regularly in the London Gazette, in which (No. 81) in August it was stated that Anthony Mingaye, merchant, at the sign of the Sun, in the Poultry, was authorised to receive subscriptions in aid of the town, which, on the 26th September (No. 91) was declared to be in a deplorable condition by reason of the continued raging of the sickness. The deaths from the Plague had decreased to fifteen on 28th November, 1666, and the last notice which appeared was on 2nd January, 1667, (No. 119,) when eight only had died from the pestilence.

^e Other parts of the south-western counties suffered considerably. At Winchester the school of the college was closed and not re-opened till 1st December, 1666, when "in all human appearance the sickness in that city and the suburbs was extinguished."—London Gazette, No. 109. It had broken out at Salisbury on 6th September, 1665, without great virulence (Additional MS. 5810, fo. 287), but it re-appeared in June,

weekes bill makes 652 decreased; in all, 5,068; Plague, 4,227. There is 104 decreased in our parish this weeke through mercy, yet many sicke about us in or end of y^e parish."

In the nine weeks, from 8th August to 10th October, 59,810 persons had died, of whom the Plague destroyed 49,605, as appears by the bills of mortality. On October 19, 1665, Allin writes, "Wee have had this weeke, God be praysed! a very mercifull abatem^t of y^e bill of mortality, viz^t 1,849 decreased this weeke; y^e whole bill being 3,219, whereof of y^e Plague 2,665, but yet it doth creepe into fresh houses still. . . . Y^e Lord fitt mee for what his good will and pleasure is."

In the entire month of October the deaths from the pestilence fell to 14;373. The writer, however, began to feel unwell from his exertions. On November 2, 1665, he writes, "The sicknes, though decreaseing in generall, yet in our parte of our parish (Horsleydowne) I thinke it now encrease again, and proves this weeke very mortall;^a my head aketh at y^e p^rsent. Y^e Lord fitt mee for what hee intends towards mee. Remember *prima materia*."

And he sets about his astrological inquiries with no little apprehension. On November 8th, 1665, he writes, "Through mercy I am yet very well, though never without dayly feares, and truly not without cause, if I either consider the

1666, and continued till December, 1666; the election of the mayor on 27th September taking place at an assembly in the close of the cathedral on account of the pestilence.—Hoare's City of Salisbury, p. 455. On 12th October, 1665, it had extended itself into other parts of Wiltshire. (Additional MS. 5810, fol. 291.) At the end of October, 1665, it had also broken out in four houses at Sherburn, Dorset, but it soon ceased; and in a letter dated 5th December it is said that only one person had died of the Plague during twenty days, so that on the last Saturday they had a plentiful market of corn and other provisions, and several who had left the town had come home, and others were preparing for their return.—Oxford Gazette, Nos. 5, 8.

^a According to the returns, the disease was very fatal in many parishes on the low sides of the Thames. At Lambeth, 537 died of Plague, mostly between July and December, 1665. At St. George the Martyr, Southwark, 1,260, or one-fourth of the population; St. Olave's, 2,785; St. Saviour's, 3,446. At Bermondsey 1,363 died, of whom there died in July 108, August 121, September 263, October 278 (of which number 185 were males), and November 111. In Stepney 8,598 died in the year, of whom the Plague destroyed 6,583, and on one day, 11th September, 1665, no less than 154 were buried. The population of the parish was so thinned that it became a difficulty to man the navy. At Deptford and Greenwich the disease raged with greater violence in 1666 than in the first year. At Deptford, 374 died of the pestilence in 1665, and 522 in the next year. In Greenwich, 416 died in the first year, and 423 in the next year of the Plague. In the upper part of the river it was not so bad. At Chelsea only 78 died of it; at Battersea only 113; at Wandsworth there were 245 in 1665, and 99 in 1666; at Putney, though the traffic was large, only 74 died of Plague; at Mortlake it was more fatal, 197 dying, of whom 122 died in September and October, 1665; at Barnes it was light, 19 only; at Brentford, 103; at Isleworth, 149; and Twickenham, only 21.

will of myne owne hearte, or yet if there bee any truth in y^e language of the starrs; for Mars is comeing to my ascendant in my nativity, w^h was there lord of the eighth; and in my revolution for this yeare Lord of the Asc.; and in his course of p^gresse and regradation hee will continue within the compasse of my ascendant in my nativity till 1st July next. I had thought to send Mr. Jeake the scheames, with y^e directions and p^fections for this yeare for his judgment, but I have not time now. . . . The bill enclosed will confirm my last about an increase, w^{ch} I wonder is no higher, when our p^vocations are so much heightned; y^e sicknes increased at Norw^{ch}, 42 there last weeke; and at Colchester, haveing beene at neere 200 weekly, there it is this last weeke risen to neere 300. . . . Send as much *prima materia* as you can get gathered in ♍ (scorpio), by itself; if in ♍ (virgo), by itselfe.”

In Allin's letter to Jeake, of 14th November, he declares “It is yet dyeing time with us, though the bill is hoped to have decreased this weeke:” but writing again to Fryth, two days afterwards, he is a little better assured, though he gives us the important fact, that there were second attacks in the same places, November 16, 1665: “You will see a little decrease in this bill, but truly God seemes now in divers familys to visit the 2nd time, after they have beene all well 6 or 8 weekes; and fresh houses in divers places, besides some whole familys, swept away that have returned to y^e City allready.”

A change of the temperature to considerable cold no doubt aided the general decrease in the mortality of London. On November 23rd, 1665, Allin tells Fryth: “The cold pincheth soarely here, seeing that coales are above 40^s p chaldron; but ere long I must bee forced (if I live so long) to a country climate; I thinke it must bee Sussex ward, but where I doe not know. If you can learne some place for me, somewhat above five miles from you, with honest people, you may doe well to let mee know of it, where I may also practice physicke.”

On the 6th November the soldiers, who had been quartered in tents in Hyde Park, returned into the City;^a and the total number of deaths in November from Plague fell to 3,449, though considerable danger still existed.

On December 7th, 1665, Allin says, “Some fresh houses in divers parishes are still visited, besides more of them that come to towne, or are employed in the aireing of other's houses;” and on 12th December, “Divers psons and families at their returne home to the City have mett with what they fled from, in so much that I feare and heare this weekes bill hath an increase. I heare there is a new blazing starr scene last weeke, 4 or 5 nights together, about north-east.” And

^a Additional MS. 5810, fol. 295.

two days afterwards, December 14, 1665 : “Y^e sicknes is now agayne increaseing, as by y^e totalls doth appeare, but yet is increased in the sicknes 33, and wholly in the City; divers fresh houses, since the returne of fresh psons hither, visited and swept.”

On 26th December, 1665, Allin thus sums up the year: “The totall of the generall bill this yeare is, of all diseases, 97,306; whereof the Plague, 68,596.^a The sicknesse, wee feare, is still increasing this weeke agayne.”

Nevertheless on 5th January, 1666, a proclamation was issued for the removal back of the Exchequer from Nonsuch to be opened at Westminster on the 20th; and the justices were ordered to see that all bedding and other goods in the several infected houses were well aired, the rooms all new whited, and the churchyards covered with earth two feet thick.^b The Court returned to town; but although on 6th April the pestilence “was almost totally abated,” yet, as it might be increased again, parliament was prorogued. The number of deaths within the bills of mortality in the year fell to 12,838: there were 1,998 who died from the Plague; and so late as 20th December three deaths from this cause were entered.^c

The disease extended itself along the sides of the Thames. On 22nd March, 1666, Allin mentions the Plague as being at Barking (where 230 persons died in 1665, and 239 in 1666); at Kingston-upon-Thames (not mentioned by Lysons), where six or seven houses were “lately shut up in one day;” and at Woolwich,^d whither, however, Allin removed, and whence on 15th Sept. he wrote that the “sicknes is this weeke broken out much about 4 houses in Woolw^{ch}, where wee have not had one dyed of y^t disease visibly this 12 weekes.^e” The fair at

^a Stowe gives this number, Book i. p. 226; but does not mention the total number of deaths. The whole population of the metropolis was under 600,000, and many of these had removed out of town.

^b Oxford Gazette, No. 16.

^c London Gazette, No. 114.

^d The registers of this date are lost.

^e With the exception of these river-side parishes, the disease did not appear in a very fatal form in the villages round the metropolis. In Middlesex we find at Hampstead indeed that 214, or seven times the average number of deaths, occurred in 1665, but at Hackney 225 persons only died and the pestilence was less fatal than on the former visitation. At Hornsey 43 died of Plague; at Finchley only 38 deaths occurred; at Ealing 224 died between June and December; at Enfield 176 in the year; at Heston only 48 died in 1665; and 61 at Bromley St. Leonard's. It was light at Norwood; and at Kensington only 25 died of the pestilence. In the Essex villages the mortality was not so great as might have been anticipated since the towns suffered so much. At Stratford-le-Bow 139 died in the year; at Walthamstow only 68 were buried; at Woodford only 33; and at Chigwell only 6 died of the Plague in 1666.

The Surrey villages were comparatively free. At Newington the pestilence was very fatal; the registers

Gravesend usually holden on 13th October was in 1666 prohibited, in order to prevent a concourse, till it should "please Almighty God to cease the violence of the contagion, which was very far dispersed into many parts of this kingdom."

Whilst the disease had abated in London at the commencement of 1666, it reappeared in many places, and extended itself to others throughout parts of the midland,^a and the eastern, southern, and south-western counties.^b General rules and orders to be observed by all justices of the peace, mayors, &c. for the prevention of the spreading of the infection were therefore issued by Government, and the College of Physicians circulated freely their remedies.

In addition to the places already mentioned in which it raged a second time, we have records of the visitation in other towns.

In King's Lynn, in 1665, on account of this visitation, the gates were shut, and even the mackerel carts were not allowed to enter; and, as it raged in 1666, no mart was held, and the markets were also discontinued.^c

At Cambridge it first broke out about 12 September, 1665, ceased about the close of February, and broke out again in the summer.^d Allin writes to Fryth on 14th July, 1666, "Y^e Plague very hott at Cambridge, their 3rd bill of mortality

are now lost, but the returns give 1,004 deaths of Plague; beyond that place the disease was not virulent. At Camberwell 100 died in the year, and 33 at its hamlet Dulwich, being less than in 1603: at Croydon, between 27th July, 1665, and 22nd March, 1666, there were 141 deaths: but Clapham, Streatham, West Wickham, Carshalton, and Cheam wholly escaped.

In the Kent villages nearly the same exemption occurred. Lewisham was visited slightly, there being only 56 burials in 1665 and 52 in 1666; at Charlton only three or four deaths from the Plague; at Beckenham only 18 deaths in the year; at Chiselhurst only 21; at Eltham only 32 deaths from the pestilence; and at Bromley only 7.—Lysons.

^a The town of Derby so severely suffered that it was almost forsaken, and to procure the necessaries of life the inhabitants erected at Nun's Green, outside the town, a market-stone or headless cross, where the market people, having their mouths primed with tobacco, left the provisions. The stone, with an inscription from Hutton, is now in the Derby Arboretum. In the villages of Derbyshire the disease appeared at one place, Eylam, from whence it did not spread. *Archæologia*, vol. VI. p. 82. But according to Bailey it was exceedingly bad at Newark, where one-third of the inhabitants died, and the grass grew in the streets.

^b The northern and western counties almost escaped. The disease did not reach Lancashire (Baines), nor Sheffield (Hunter, p. 6). The last outbreak at Leeds was in 1645 (Whitaker), and at York in 1604 (Drake). The towns, however, on the Tyne were slightly infected. It appeared at Gateshead on 30th July, 1665 (Surtees, ii. p. 122); and on 11th November, 1665, it is stated from Newcastle, "When the sickness appeared first here (which is but of young date) we were not without the apprehension of a severe mortality, but it hath pleased God already to put a stop to its progress, there being not one person sick in the whole town, and those that were sent in the fields well recovered."—*Oxford Gazette*, No. 2.

^c Richards, Lynn, p. 1203.

^d C. H. Cooper's *Annals*, iii 517, 20.

to the 10th instant gives 55 in their 14 parishes, whereof there was 44 of y^e Plague, and 13 more of y^e Plague in y^e pest-house." A few days afterwards the Vice-Chancellor deputed Mr. Thomas Warren, apothecary, at the Golden Hart and Anchor, in Basing Lane, London, to receive such moneys as should be contributed for the relief of the sufferers.^a The number of burials in the town, including St. Giles', during the year was 797; and it was not till the Gazette from 21st to 24th January,^b 1667, that the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses notified that the scholars might return to their respective colleges.

In September, 1666, the Bishop of Ely prohibited the holding of the fair usually holden in October at Ely, on account of the Plague at Cambridge, Peterborough, and other places near Ely;^c and on a recent search of the Peterborough Registers I found that the affliction there was sore. It had been raging at Yardly Hastings, in Northamptonshire, where sixty persons died of the Plague between 5th June, 1665, and 5th January following;^d and it broke out in Peterborough in the month of September, 1665, having been brought, as was supposed, by a travelling woman from London: two persons died of it in that month, and forty more between September and March, 1666. It re-appeared in May, when two died of it, and increased, killing in June 57, July 121, August 96, September 58, and October 49; it then abated, but in the course of the year 500 persons died in the town, of whom 417 died of the Plague,^e many being buried in their gardens. In the first three months of 1667 eight more died of the pestilence; after March it ceased. Yet it did not spread seriously even to the neighbouring town of Boston.

Of the extension of the disease into Sussex we have no details: but in the London Gazette there is a proclamation in Oct. 1666, stating that the infection being much spread about the town of Battel, though the inhabitants were free, yet, to prevent its further spreading, the fair usually kept on 11th November was directed not to be holden:^f and the pestilence must have lingered in the western division of the same county, since, "in regard that the said county in several towns and parishes was still infected with the Plague," it was ordered^g that the fair usually kept at Petworth on the 20th November during the space of nine days should not be held in the year 1666.

^a London Gazette, No. 72.

^b Ib. No. 124.

^c Ib. No. 91, Annals of Camb. iii. 520.

^d Bridges' North. i. p. 399. He does not mention the Plague at Peterborough.

^e The population is only 5,000 at the present day.

^f London Gazette, No. 98.

^g Ib. No. 103.

The town of Nottingham was about the last place visited. It was free from the disease in 1665, when there were only 149 burials; and in 1666, when there were 180 burials in the town. According to Deering and Furby, it was visited by the Plague in 1667, the greatest ravages being in the higher part of the town, whilst the lower part was more free, a circumstance attributed to the "effluvia from the tan-pits." But the visitation was not heavy, for no particular notice is taken of it in the registers; and the whole number of burials in the year was only 219, most deaths occurring in the month of August.^a

The year 1667 saw the last outbreak of the Plague in this country; for, although its return in the years 1720 and 1780 was much dreaded, it did not reach our shores.

How much more violent it was in the metropolis than the more recent visitations of the Cholera will be seen by the following tabular results:—

| Metropolis. | Years. | Duration. | Estimated Population. | Highest number of Deaths from Epidemic. | In week ending | Total Deaths from Epidemic. | Per cent. of Deaths to Population. |
|-------------|--------|--|-----------------------|---|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Plague . | 1664-5 | 13 months | 600,000 | 19th Sept. 1665 | 7,165 | 68,596 | 11·42 |
| Cholera . | 1832-3 | 17 months with an interval of 8 months | 1,682,641 | 27th July, 1832 | 445 | 6,729 | ·39 |
| „ | 1848-9 | 15 months | 2,206,076 | 8th Sept. 1848 . | 2,026 | 14,601 | ·61 |
| „ | 1853-4 | 17 months | 2,372,728 | 9th Sept. 1854 . | 2,050 | 10,696 | ·45 |

It will be seen that in each of the years 1665, 1848, and 1854 the month of September was the period of the greatest mortality: and a strict investigation of the mortality in the different parishes and districts of London would shew a close affinity between the visitations of the older and of the more recent form of pestilence.

I remain, my dear Sir Henry,

Your very faithful Servant,

WM. DURRANT COOPER.

Sir Henry Ellis, K.H. Director S.A.

&c. &c.

^a Ex inf. Mr. Thomas Close, F.S.A.

II. *Notices of the old Clochard or Bell-Tower of the Palace at Westminster :*
Communicated by the Rev. JOSEPH HUNTER, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Read 4th Dec. 1856.

Now that the public attention is so much directed upon the Tower at Westminster which is to receive the great clock and bell which are to proclaim the hour to the whole population of London, it appears not unseasonable to draw into notice the ancient and long-lost Bell-Tower which formed part of the buildings of the ancient Palace of Westminster, and stood very near to the site of the more splendid and imposing Tower recently erected.

The erection of this Tower, and the placing in it a clock, and not one but three bells, was the work of King Edward the Third when he made such extensive reparations and improvements on the Palace which in his reign, and long before and after, was by far the most frequent residence of the King and his family. It was considered an appurtenance to the Chapel of St. Stephen. Stowe's account of it is this :—"He also builded to the use of this Chapel, though out of the Palace Court some distance west in the Little Sanctuary, a strong Clochard of stone and timber covered with lead, and placed therein three great bells, since usually rung at Coronations, Triumphs, Funeralls of Princes, and their Obits." Before the time when Stowe wrote the bells had been taken down. He speaks of traditions of their great weight and loud tones. His language is as vague as when he speaks of the precise site of the tower. They had been said to weigh 30,000 lbs. but when taken down it was found that the weight of all three was less than 20,000.

This Tower was built in 1365 and 1366, the 39th and 40th years of King Edward the Third.

We have this exact date from contemporary evidence.

The Surveyor of the King's works within the Palace at Westminster was at that time William de Sleford, clerk. He rendered an annual account of his Receipts and Expenses, and his account for that year still remains, having survived in the destruction of so many documents of the class to which it belongs.

The ancient accounts of works that have come down to us do not afford all that minute information which we might expect from them. We rarely meet with admeasurements, and scarcely ever with such notices of the works as would enable us to draw a plan or represent the elevation of any part of the building. Rarely, indeed, is the name given of any subordinate part of an edifice. The accounts are business-like documents, sufficient for the occasion, which was only to show what money had been received from the Exchequer, and how it had been expended. It was, perhaps, the last thought in the mind of the accountant to provide materials for the history of art, or the gratification of antiquarian curiosity in a distant age. The expenditure being upon work in different portions of the same edifice, and sometimes at different edifices in remote places, as at Westminster, the Tower, Windsor, and Eltham, renders it in most cases impossible for us to arrive at the precise amount of the expenditure on any particular portion of the work, and even to know with certainty what part of the things purchased were used in that particular portion. Yet some few particulars may be collected from them not wholly without interest in respect of buildings which in themselves are but minute points in the whole design of the architect. In the present case, any attempt to ascertain the actual cost of the Bell-Tower is rendered the more difficult, there being at the same time another tower at Westminster in the course of erection by the same architect, which is designated the "*Nova turris ad finem gardini Regis.*"

The terms in which Sleford speaks of the Clock-Tower are "*Turris infra palatium pro quodam orlogio facta;*" and the first entry in which this Tower is mentioned is a payment of 11*l.* and 12*d.* for 26 dolia of stone of Bere at 8*s.* 6*d.* the dolium, and 106*s.* 8*d.* for 16 dolia of stone of Came at 6*s.* 8*d.* the dolium. Four hundred and sixty-nine cart-loads of Reigate stone for the doors and windows of the two Towers, the cost of which was 3*s.* the load. Above 8,000 feet of ashlar was bought at Maidstone for the Towers and other works, which cost 4*d.* the foot, including the freight. Between five and six thousand feet of stone called Urnell were bought at 8*s.* the hundred, without freightage. There were other large purchases of raggstone, which was brought up the Thames from Maidstone.

The Society will bear the recital of a few other entries in this part of the account for the sake of the rare words which occur in them. Fifty corbels were bought at Maidstone expressly for the Clock-Tower at 11*d.* each. Four pounds were paid for 240 wrought stones of Reigate called Sherches, "*pro quadam vice in predicta turri juxta gardinum Regis,*" and 40*s.* for 15 wrought stones of Reigate

called Nowels, "pro eadem vice." Two "gressors" for sharpening the masons' tools were bought, which I introduce for the sake of the rarity of the word.

Lime and rough sand were bought to make mortar.

Tiles and timber were bought, part of which may have been used in the Clock-Tower.

Again, under the head of iron work, we read of no use of iron except in the locks. Stock-locks, plate-locks, and clykett-locks are the kind of locks named.

There was paid to John Brampton 105s. 1*d.* for 4 score and 17 feet of white glass wrought with flowers and a border of the arms of the King, to be placed in the windows of the tower, or towers, for it is uncertain which. The price was 13*d.* the foot.

I shall easily be excused for passing over the payments made to sawyers, carpenters, plumbers, glaziers, and plasterers, working at 3*d.*, 4*d.*, 5*d.*, and 5½*d.* a day.

We find nothing respecting the construction or even the placing of the clock, and nothing respecting the casting of the bells, and very little respecting the elevation of them in the Tower. Bell-ropes occur, and in connection with them a vice or engine.

The superintendent of the Tower at the garden-end was Thomas Hardegrey; and he and Maurice Yonge had the superintendence of the construction of the Bell-Tower, or rather for attending to the work on 50 feet in height of the Clock-Tower, "pro factura 50 pedum in altitudine predictæ turris pro orologio." They received 15*l.*, part of 40*l.*

In a kind of appendix to his account is an inventory of the things in the custody of Sleaford, in which occur "duæ campanæ vocatæ Wyron;" an unusual word, but occurring again in the account itself, "pro 1 corda empt. pro Wyron."

It is to be regretted that we have no account of the expense of the clock and bells themselves. Nor have we any thing respecting them in any later accounts till we arrive at the reign of King Henry the Sixth. We have then accounts of the expense of maintaining the clock and bells in a state of efficiency for two successive years, the fourth and fifth, the fifth and sixth of that reign, delivered both in Latin and English. From these we collect that Thomas Clockmaker received 13s. 4*d.* a-year as his salary for general superintendence. He also received 8s. for making of the sail (velum) when it was broken; 6s. 8*d.* for amending of the spring of the barrel; 12*d.* for the wire of the stobil; 7*s.* for amending of the note (nut) and spindle. He was also paid for two great ropes, the one weighing 52 lbs. and the other 49 lbs. at the rate of three halfpence the

pound ; also for two ropes of thread for the little weight 2*s.* ; and for boards, laths, and matts “bought for to stop the wind fro the said clock,” 22*d.*

These were for the first of the two years.

In the account for the second year we have 5*s.* for the repair of the extre of the said clock ; 3*s.* for two laches and two pinnes of iron ; for mending four pullies of laton, and four bolts and four clenches thereto, that draw the hammer, 3*s.* 4*d.* ; for three lenkes and a ring and a bolt for the hammer 2*s.* ; 1*s.* 8*d.* for amending the lansing of the clock ; for two great ropes, the one weighing 51lbs. the other 52lbs. 12*s.* 10½*d.* ; and for cords for the little weight 2*s.* 2*d.*

I can only hope that in the absence of other and more full details of the clock-work of the middle ages, even these particulars may be of some interest, and contribute to the knowledge we possess of the construction of the clocks of those times, concerning which so little information seems to have come down to us.

I ought to add that the person called Thomas Clockmaker appears to have been but a subordinate officer, the account being rendered by Agnes De la Van, the wife of Geffery De la Van, who was himself the deputy of John Lenham, who is designated “Custos orologii domini Regis infra palatium suum Westmonasterio.”

III. *Observations on Researches in Suabian Tumuli; in a Letter from WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A., addressed to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read 5th June, 1856.

Blackwater, May 8, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

OUR zealous Stuttgart correspondent, Captain von Dürrieh, to whom we owe the discovery of the Oberflacht^a remains, perhaps the most important of their class, has favoured me with a brief communication respecting some ancient and obscure Suabian tumuli. This I have endeavoured to embody in the following notice, which I would venture to hope may interest our Society. Captain von Dürrieh's letter is accompanied by illustrative drawings, now exhibited.

The small territory of Würtemberg is peculiarly rich in this class of historic monuments; and the student of Suabian archæology has before him a wide and richly diversified field of inquiry. The early Kelt,—the Roman, ambitious of conquest,—the free tribes of the great Teutonic movement, have all left here, after their manner, striking evidence of their course. If, as is doubtless true, the early history of all lands is only to be verified by an attentive examination of their sepulchral memorials, tumular research, undertaken for such a purpose, becomes of the very highest interest and importance.

Captain von Dürrieh states that groups of very ancient tumuli are found scattered over the plateau—partly forest, partly heath—on the summit of one of the highest points of the Suabian Alps, which bears the name of Heuberg. This mountain-peak was called Jurassus by the Romans, probably after the old Keltic appellation of Jou-rag. The spot is described as peculiarly wild and sterile, hemmed in by precipitous rocks, and nearly 3000 feet above the sea. Here the old inhabitants of the country seem to have sought either a stronghold for their own defence, or a secure resting-place for the sacred remains of their dead. Its very name, Mahlstätten, would seem a reminiscence of those ancient feasts or sacrifices—sacrificia mortuorum—which the heathen were wont to hold at their

^a Archæologia vol. XXXVI. p. 129.—Heft 3 des Würtembergischen Alterthumsvereins.

sepulchral tumuli.^a The mode of sepulture practised by these Suabian mountaineers was that of inhumation. The corpse was deposited in a shallow grave of about two feet and a half in depth, and a tumulus of the adjacent soil raised above it. Layers of rude stones were then added, and these again covered with a slight coating of mould. Hence the term "stein-haufen," or cairns, by which these graves are commonly known in the country.

On an examination of one of these cairns, which Captain von Dürrieh has recently made, it was found to contain the remains of a female skeleton: no ashes or burnt bones were to be seen. At the feet was the exceedingly remarkable jar-shaped vessel of thin sheet bronze, shown in the sketch (Plate I.), and also the rims of three more similar vessels. There were, also, the personal ornaments of the deceased, consisting of a bronze torq, three bronze armillæ, and the rare example of a decoration for the neck or breast, drawings of which are given. It consists of a convex plate of bronze, from which a number of pieces of the same metal, of a nearly triangular form, depend by fine chains.^b These clashed together, and produced a jingling sound—or, in the poet's words, "harmonious tinkled"—on every movement of the wearer; whence, in Germany, this ornament bears the appellation of "klapper-schmuck."^c The bronze vessel just referred to is of a somewhat enigmatical construction, and merits attention. The plate of which it is composed is not thicker than very stout paper, and appears retained in form entirely by its own elasticity, not a trace of solder being visible. Neither the form nor ornamentation appear to belong to an early period. There is a difficulty about the other vessels of which only the rims were found. No reason for their decomposition would appear to exist, which would not apply with equal force to the example that remains in perfect preservation. Hence it has been suggested that these vessels possibly were of wood, with metal rims.

Captain von Dürrieh is inclined to attribute these interesting remains to the Keltic period. An extensive examination of the surrounding tumuli would possibly have furnished better data for a more decided opinion on this point.

^a This custom, derived from Slavonic heathendom, seems still to linger in Russia in the rites of those popular gatherings said to be held at tombs in cemeteries after Easter, at the festival of Radounitza.

^b Southey gives a similar picture of the ornaments of Oriental dress:

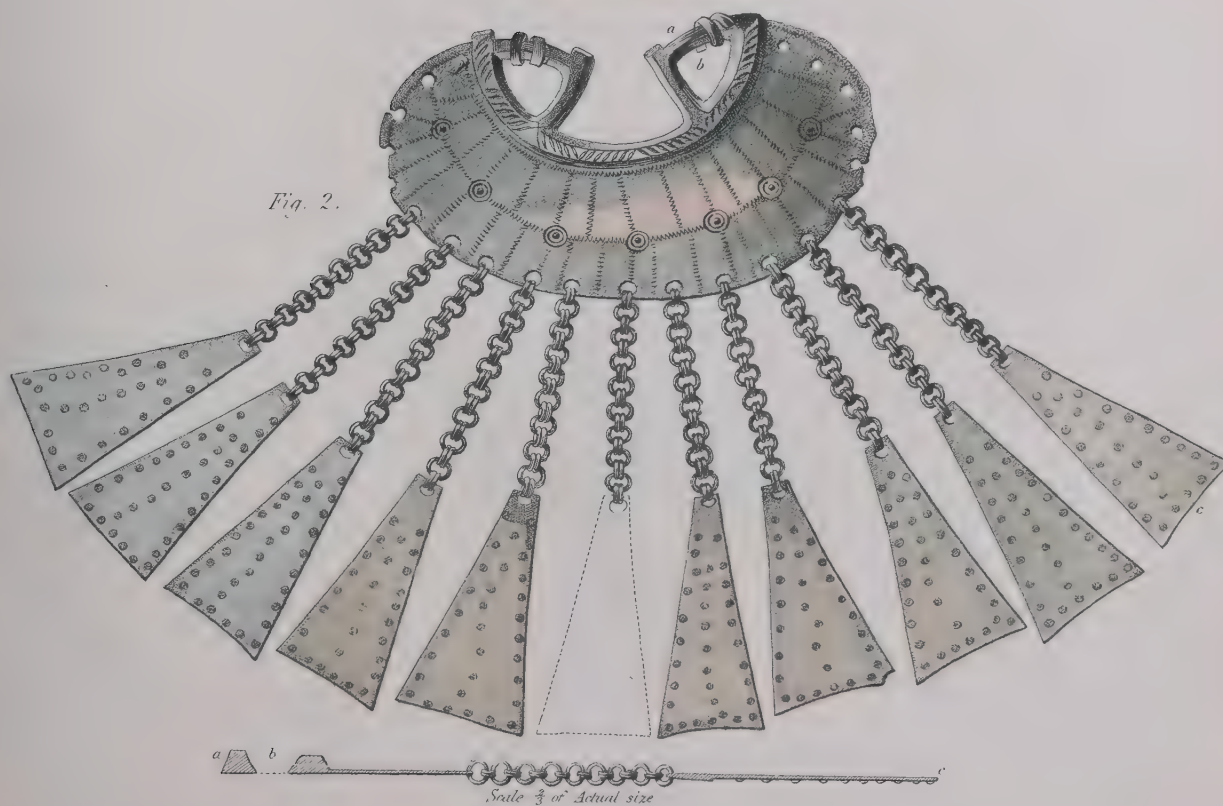
Ear-drop, nor chain, nor arm nor ankle-ring,
Nor trinketry on front, or neck, or breast.

Kehama, c. xiii.

^c Such jingling metal plates are also found attached to hair-pins of the old bronze period in Scandinavia. —Vide *Afbildinger fra det Kongelige Museum*. Kjobenhavn, 1854.



Fig. 2.



BRONZE OBJECTS found in a tumulus on the HEUBERG in WÜRTEMBERG.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 23rd April 1851.

J. Basire, sc.

The largest of the tumuli, in fact, was opened some years ago, and proved to be of similar construction—that is, a mound of earth overspread with layers of stones. It was, however, of the class termed “altar-hügel.” These are further found to contain, at the centre of their base, a mass of stones rudely built up without mortar in a cubic form, upon which stand earthen vessels. You will remember having met with a similar cubic mass of rude flints in the large barrow you opened at Wallop a year or two since.^a Such rude unmortared masonry is of common occurrence in Normandy, in tumuli and substructions of the Keltic age. On the whole, though there may be cause to regret the want of a more extended examination, yet the construction of the tumulus in question—the close vicinity of the so-called “altar-tumulus”—the Alpine locality—all taken in conjunction with the character, form, and ornamentation of the bronze objects found with the body, would appear fully to justify Captain von Dürrieh in ascribing these remains to the Kelts. They belong, however, to a late period, when Roman intercourse and influence had become felt in this part of Germany.

It should be remarked that the skull found within the tumulus is of a very singular formation, as will be observed from the sketches it has been deemed of sufficient importance to furnish. A similarly formed skull was also found in another tumulus in a very different locality, which, from the accompanying relics, was unmistakeably of Alemannic origin. These crania, however, vary so widely from the usual Keltic or Teutonic types, that, in the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we may regard them as altogether abnormal and casual, in unison with the opinion already expressed by the distinguished anatomist Dr. Jäger of Stuttgart.

Another tumulus, in a different part of Würtemberg, opened lately by Captain von Dürrieh, offers very fresh and interesting matter to our consideration. It is situate in the Rheinerwald, in the Mid Neckar district. The tumulus is of red clay, and immediately covers the site of a funeral pile. Here a mass of ashes was found, with fragments of burnt bones, and the crushed remains of coarse black and red pottery. Above these débris some stones were lying; and near them were further traces of cremation, consisting of ashes and the burnt bones of a child, with a fibula, and two bronze armillæ. The tumulus had therefore been opened for this second *bustum*. Only an inch or two below the summit of the

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXV. A tumulus, raised over a similar cubic pile, formed of turf, was opened in Cumberland in the last century. Archæologia, vol. II, p. 57. The rude outline there given shows it bore the same Mamelon form with this Suabian altar tumulus. It is no uncommon thing to find such piles of turf within ancient tumuli in Germany.

tumulus—in fact, just concealed by the accumulated soil—was a stone rudely cut into an image form, about two French feet in height,

——— truncoque simillimus Herma.^a

This stone Captain von Dürrieh imagines to have originally stood on the tumulus, and to have been one of the *todten-säulen*, or tumular memorial-stones, which certain heathen tribes, especially the Slaves of Southern Russia, were in the habit of erecting over the graves of their kindred.

This custom, however, was not merely confined to Slavonic nations. We know, indeed, from the history of Paulus Diaconus that the Lombards were wont to set up poles—*perticas*—as memorials on their sepulchral tumuli; and that, from this circumstance, one of these spots long afterwards bore the name of “Ad perticas.”^b Dr. J. Grimm, in his charming historical essay on the cremation rites of nations,^c gives a similar interpretation to the obscure *cheristado*, or *aristado*, of the old Salic laws.^d

From this evidence of the existence of memorial erections on tumuli among the Frankish and Lombard nations, and the general similarity of usages which is found to pervade the various branches of the great Teutonic family, the custom may be inferred to have been as universal as it is reasonable. One exceedingly well-defined example of that form of memorial, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus, was met with not long ago in Germany, near Birkenfeld, in the Upper Nahe district.^e On opening an ancient interment of the cremation period, the numerous decayed ends of oaken poles, with remains of bark, were distinctly visible, deep in the tumulus.

I am not aware of the further existence of any record on the subject in the pages of the old chroniclers. It may seem strange that wood was adopted rather than stone to mark the last resting-place of the dead; but whether such preference for a perishable substance was the result of mere convenience, or

^a Juvenal, viii. 53.

^b “Ad perticas autem locus ipse adeo dicitur quid ibi olim perticæ, id est trabes, erectæ steterant, quæ ob hanc causam juxta morem Langabardorum poni solebant. Si quis enim in aliquem partem, aut in bello, aut quomodocunque extinctus fuisset, consanguinei ejus intra sepulchra sua perticam figebant,” &c.—Pauli Diaconi de Gest. Lang. Lib. v. c. 34.

^c Über das Verbrennen der Leichen. Berlin, 1850, pp. 38—65. Also Grimm’s Preface to Merkel’s Lex Salica, p. 48.

^d “Si quis cheristaduna super hominem mortuum,” &c. Leg. Salic. tit. 58, ed. Herold.

^e Erster Bericht des Vereins in den Kreisen, St. Wendel, und Ottweiler.—Abbildungen von Mainzer Alterthümern, No. iv. p. 8.

rather, as may be suspected, of some superstitious observance, we know not. From some such fancy, the Teutonic idols^a—even the famed Irmingsul of the Saxons—seem to have been of wood. The Oberflacht discoveries, indeed, have rendered us aware that wood was very generally used among the German tribes for every purpose of domestic requirement. However, sepulchral memorials on the summits of tumuli, whether of wood or stone, would rapidly disappear, especially in a cultivated country, when the sanctity of the spot ceased to exist on the introduction of Christianity, and the heathen graves came to serve no other purpose than that of landmarks in the charters of the times. Captain von Dürrieh's research seems to offer a very valuable and rare illustration of this ancient historical rite: care and observation in exploring tumuli may disclose further examples. In fact, I have just been informed that Mr. Hellier, in his recent researches in the Isle of Wight, found long fragments of stone in the top soil of several tumuli, which bore every appearance of having once been set up after the manner of gravestones.

If English archæologists may claim to have first arrived at a correct discernment of Teutonic antiquities, they are still greatly indebted to their learned confrères of France and Germany, whose zealous researches have afforded the means of establishing a more general induction. Yet our acquaintance with continental archæological discovery is but exceedingly limited and imperfect. What we possess is rather owing to the enterprise of individuals than the regular interchange of communications by societies. If this could be established, and effectively carried out as an essential portion of our duties, we might reasonably expect the greatest advantages would be mutually derived.

Sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.

To J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. F.S.A.

^a Grimm's *D. Myth. unter Götter-Bilder.*

IV. *Note sur des Sépultures Anglo-Normandes trouvées à Bouteilles, près Dieppe, en Mars, 1856 ; par M. L'ABBÉ COCHET.*

Read June 12, 1856.

DANS le courant du mois de Mars, 1856, j'ai commencé une seconde fouille archéologique dans le cimetière abandonné de l'ancienne église de Bouteilles près Dieppe. Le but de ma tentative nouvelle était encore la recherche de cercueils de pierre et de croix en plomb avec formule d'absolution. Cette fois j'ai trouvé deux croix et six tombeaux.

Cette seconde exploration a principalement porté sur le bas de l'église disparue et sur son ancien parvis. Dans l'intérieur de l'édifice, j'ai trouvé trois ou quatre pavages successifs en carreaux de terre cuite, un tronçon de maçonnerie provenant du fût qui supportait la cuve baptismale, et deux moules circulaires où furent autrefois coulées les cloches de la paroisse.^a Mais c'est au dehors et devant le portail que j'ai fait mes meilleures découvertes.

Les fondements du pignon de l'Ouest subsistaient encore et ils s'enfonçaient sous terre à plus d'un mètre du niveau de l'ancien sol. Cette vieille construction était en silex avec contre-forts en tuf. La forme des contre-forts, la taille des pierres, et surtout leur nature, montraient évidemment que l'église que nous avions sous les yeux datait du xii^e siècle.

On ne saurait toutefois la rapprocher de nous davantage. Ce qui paraît bien certain par la tradition, c'est que l'ancien portail était un ceintre Roman appareillé en tuf. L'église que nous avons vue ne devait pas être la même que celle qui fut donnée ou restituée à l'abbaye de St. Wandrille par notre duc Richard II. dans la fameuse charte délivrée à Fécamp en 1024 :^b charte qui fut confirmée de nouveau en 1028 par Richard III. son fils.^c

^a C'était autrefois l'usage de faire fondre les cloches dans le cimetière ou dans l'âtre de l'église où elles devaient servir. On les fondait jusque dans les églises comme nous l'avons constaté à l'abbaye de Valmont en 1844, où nous avons vu des moules de cloches dans un des transepts. La liturgie Catholique a une bénédiction particulière pour la métal des cloches mis en fusion. Ce fut dans l'âtre de la cathédrale de Rouen que Jehan le Machon, de Chartres, fondit la fameuse Georges d'Amboise le 1^{er} Août, 1501.

^b Ecclesiam de Boutellis cum decimis, terris, et hospitibus. *Neustria Pia*, p. 165.

^c Ecclesiam Sancti Albini de Boutelles. *Neustria Pia*, p. 167.

Ce qui me fait penser que l'église retrouvée par nous n'est pas antérieure au xii^e siècle, c'est que nous attribuons à ce siècle même les six tombeaux de pierre rencontrés dans le parvis. Or quelques-uns d'entre eux avaient une portion de leurs pieds engagée sous les fondations du pignon occidental ; l'un d'eux avait même été à moitié relevé afin d'asseoir les fondements du mur, comme nous le verrons plus tard.

Toutefois nos six tombeaux en pierre et les deux inhumations sans sarcophages que nous avons rencontrés entre eux, étaient placés devant l'église, les pieds à l'orient, et la tête à l'occident. Ils étaient ainsi rangés dans un passage d'environ deux mètres de largeur existant entre l'église et le mur du cimetière. Ce mur de clôture avait été également construit beaucoup plus tard, puisque ses fondations reposaient sur la tête de nos cercueils qu'elles nous ont parfois empêché de dégager. Ces morts se trouvaient ainsi inhumés sur une place publique qui fut longtemps foulée aux pieds, car le sol supérieur était macadamisé avec de la craie et des vidanges.

C'était évidemment par piété, par humilité, par un sentiment tout particulier de dévotion que ces braves gens avaient demandé à être enterrés dans ce lieu. Beaucoup de saints et de grands personnages de la même époque avaient donné le même exemple,^a et nous pourrions citer de nos jours et dans notre pays des prêtres qui ont désiré et même exigé qu'on leur accordât ce genre de sépulture, voulant être foulés aux pieds des fidèles, leurs paroissiens.

Voici maintenant dans quel ordre nous avons rencontré nos sépultures.

Le 6 Mars vers l'angle nord-ouest de l'église, à peu près vis-à-vis le contre-fort saillant du portail qui séparait la grande nef de l'allée septentrionale, nous avons aperçu dans le sol naturel, composé d'une couche épaisse d'argile jaune, deux cercueils en pierre assez voisins l'un de l'autre. L'auge était formée de plusieurs pièces de moëllon jointes ensemble au moyen de mortier. Ces pierres du reste étaient fort grossièrement taillées. Les couvercles parfaitement plats étaient formés de cinq ou six morceaux de craie épais de 10^c. Ces pièces étaient également liées avec du mortier. La longueur totale des sarcophages variait d'un mètre 90^c à 2^m. Ils étaient beaucoup plus étroits aux pieds qu'aux épaules. La tête était moins large encore, le crâne se trouvant emboité dans une entaille circulaire. L'un des cercueils a présenté au fond une couche de chaux, épaisse d'un centimètre : dans l'autre il n'y avait que le sol naturel.

Un des couvercles s'étant effondré, le cercueil s'était rempli de terre, l'autre au contraire était entièrement vide. Les deux squelettes étaient parfaitement

^a A. Deville, *Tombeaux de la Cathédrale de Rouen*, pl. xv.—xviii.

en place, couchés sur le dos, la face vers le ciel, et les mains pieusement croisées sur la poitrine. J'ai remarqué sur les os les plus saillants de la tête, et de la poitrine, une teinte violette, qui semblait provenir de plomb décomposé. Pourtant je n'ai recueilli d'autre objet métallique qu'un morceau de bronze près d'une tête, et dans le même cercueil quelques clous en fer qui semblaient avoir fait partie d'une bière. Toutefois la tête a dû être simplement enveloppée dans un suaire, car dans l'entaille il n'y avait pas de place pour un corps étranger.

Le 7 Mars, à la distance d'environ un mètre, un troisième cercueil a été rencontré orienté et construit d'une façon parfaitement identique. Seulement celui-là n'avait pas d'entaille pour la tête; il formait un auge complète. Une chose qui nous étonna d'abord, c'est qu'il n'avait qu'un mètre de long, mais le mystère s'éclaircit bientôt. La partie basse de ce cercueil ayant été rencontrée par les maçons qui bâtissaient l'église, ceux-ci avaient relevé avec soin les os des pieds ainsi que les fémurs et les tibias, et les avaient religieusement replacés dans ce qui restait du cercueil. Aussi tandis que tous les os inférieurs du corps étaient en désordre, la partie haute n'avait pas bougé. Ce mort avait été inhumé sur le dos, les mains croisées sur la poitrine; cependant la tête a été trouvée sur le côté droit. Les ossements indiquaient un sujet grand et fort, décédé dans la maturité de l'âge. Le fond de l'auge a présenté une couche de sable et de mortier épaisse de 3°. Dans le remblai qui remplissait le sarcophage, nous avons remarqué des valves de moules, un coquille de limaçon, et un fragment de vase vernissé en vert, comme ceux du xii^e siècle, d'après l'opinion de M. Brongniart.^a

Le 8 Mars, à la distance d'un mètre du 3^e tombeau, nous en avons trouvé un quatrième fort singulier. Ici, il n'y avait pas d'auge pour le corps, mais simplement un couvercle pour couvrir le squelette. Ce couvercle était formé de cinq morceaux de pierre calcaire épais de 20 à 25^e taillés grossièrement et soudés ensemble au moyen de mortier. Sous cette masse de pierre gisait le corps d'un homme grand et fort âgé de 50 à 60 ans. Il était couché dans l'argile, les mains croisées et la face vers le ciel.

Un peu plus loin sur le même alignement, à la distance d'environ 65°, nous avons rencontré dans la terre naturelle le corps d'un jeune sujet qui pouvait avoir de 10 à 15 ans. Il était orienté comme les autres, et paraissait avoir été déposé dans un cercueil de bois dont les planches pouvaient avoir 6 à 7^e d'épaisseur. Nous jugeons ceci par les clous que nous avons rencontrés au nombre d'une

^a A. Brongniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques ou Poteries*, t. ii. p. 99, pl. xxix. f. 6.—Brongniart et Riocreux, *Description méthodique du Musée Céramique de la Manuf. Roy. de Sèvres*, p. 138, pl. xxix. fig. 6.

vingtaine. Ils étaient gros et courts, possédaient deux têtes, ou plutôt avaient été rivés par la pointe. Sous les mains de ce jeune homme, pieusement croisées sur la poitrine, se trouvait une croix de plomb, dont nous parlerons bientôt.

Mais achevons ce qui concerne les tombeaux.

Le 11 Mars, 5^e cercueil en moëllon fabriqué également de plusieurs pièces, le couvercle en offrant cinq ou six. Placé comme les autres sur un fond d'argile qui n'avait jamais remué auparavant, et qui n'a pas bougé depuis, il était à près de 3^m de profondeur à partir de la crête du fossé. L'épaisseur du couvercle et des parois du cercueil était de 10 à 11^c, la longueur intérieure de l'auge était de 1,70^c, la largeur prise aux épaules est de 33, à la poitrine de 38, et aux pieds de 26. L'entaille de la tête, mesurée au dedans, nous a donné 22^c de profondeur sur 20 d'ouverture. Elle était arrondie comme une tête humaine. Le corps parfaitement entier annonçait une personne de 30 à 40 ans. Les os indiquaient une organisation frêle et délicate. L'orientation était régulière, la face tournée vers le ciel, les mains croisées sur la poitrine, serraient sous elles une jolie petit croix de plomb contenant une formule d'absolution.

Un peu plus loin que cette sépulture lapidaire nous avons trouvé un corps qui pouvait avoir de 50 à 60 ans, bien orienté et présentant autour de lui des clous gros et courts, ayant à un bout une tête forte, et à l'autre un très gros rivet.

Enfin, le 12 Mars, nous avons trouvé notre 6^e et dernier cercueil de pierre, entièrement semblable au précédent, présentant comme lui une entaille circulaire pour la tête. Le corps, bien orienté et bien intact, annonçait un sujet peu avancé en âge. Malheureusement il n'avait pas de croix de plomb.

Un peu plus loin, vers le mur de l'église, nous avons rencontré une masse accumulée d'ossements placés là après consommation et exhumation. Nous y avons compté jusqu'à quatre têtes, parmi lesquelles il s'en trouvait une d'un enfant de trois à quatre ans. Tous ces os avaient probablement été entassés ici lors du brisement des sarcophages à l'époque où l'on posa les fondements de l'église.

La date des tombeaux et des autres sépultures dont nous venons de parler, doit être fixée par l'archéologie entre 1050 et 1150. La raison de cette attribution est prise dans les idées, les usages, et la liturgie de ce temps, dans la matière, la forme, et la disposition des cercueils, dans l'orientation et l'assiette des corps, dans les monnaies et les croix qui se trouvent avec eux, ainsi que dans le caractère de l'écriture et la formule des inscriptions. Nous la tirons surtout de la position des sarcophages sous les fondations d'un édifice cintré, et dans le parvis d'une église romane où l'on n'a jamais inhumé depuis. Si l'entaille de la tête et les différents morceaux qui composent nos cercueils prouvent le siècle chez ceux qui

n'ont pas d'indication meilleure, le caractère bien accusé des nôtres devra servir à déterminer l'âge de leurs pareils, lorsqu'ils seront dépourvus des mêmes moyens de reconnaissance.

Nous savons qu'à différentes époques de l'histoire et peut-être à toutes les périodes, on a composé des cercueils au moyen de plusieurs pièces reunies avec ou sans mortier. Cette coutume a existé chez les Gaulois, et de récentes découvertes permettent de penser qu'elle a été pratiquée par les Gallo-Romains du Bas-Empire. L'archéologie moderne la montre à Allonnes, près le Mans;^b à Gondreville; et à Rogéville, en Lorraine;^c à Haulchin, en Belgique;^d et au Camp de Dalheim, près Luxembourg,^e au milieu de sépultures Franques des temps Mérovingiens. Mais voici un fait curieux et précis qui nous fait voir le même procédé mis en pratique dans une cathédrale de France un siècle après nos sépultures de Bouteilles. C'est dans *l'Essai sur les Sarcophages* de M. de Gerville que nous trouvons cette intéressante citation.

Lorsque Nicolas Gellant, évêque d'Angers, mourut, en 1290, on l'inhuma dans sa cathédrale dans un sarcophage composé de différentes pièces de tuf: "in sarcophago de tuffello, ex diversis peciis composito."^f

Maintenant disons un mot de nos deux croix de plomb.

Toutes deux diffèrent de forme, de grandeur et de poids. La plus petite, celle qui fut trouvée dans le cercueil de pierre du 11 Mars, est aussi la plus élégante par la forme. Longue de 8^c et large de 6^c elle ne pèse que 62 grammes. Elle n'a pas de pointe, et n'est écrite que d'un seul côté. Malheureusement l'écriture est à peu près illisible. Cependant on y reconnaît les premières lignes de la formule ordinaire de l'absolution: "Dominus Jehesus Cristus qui dixit discipulis suis," etc.

Il ne saurait y avoir autre chose. Le seul point dont nous regrettons la disparition est le nom de l'individu et l'indication de son sexe.

L'autre croix, plus grande, plus épaisse et plus lourde, nous offre un carré parfait de 85 mil. sur tous les sens, avec un poids total de 133 grammes. Un

^a De Gerville, *Essai sur les Sarcophages*, dans les *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest*, t. ii. p. 182.

^b M. Ch. Drouet, *Notice sur la découverte de neuf Tombeaux ou Sarcophages en pierre*. In 8vo. Le Mans, 1842.

^c Dufresne, *notice sur quelques antiquités de Toul* dans les *Mém. de l'Académie de Metz* pour 1849, p. 221-24.

^d M. Schayes, *Notice sur la découverte d'un Cimetière Franc au village de Haulchin en Hainaut*, p. 3, pl. I. fig. 1, et dans les *Bulletins de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*.

^e A Namur, *Publications de la Société archéologique de Luxembourg*, t. xi. 1855.

^f *Ex gestis Guill. majoris Andegav. Episc.* dans le *Spicilège de Luc d'Achery*, t. x. p. 251. De Gerville, *Essai sur les Sarcophages*, dans les *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. de l'Ouest*, t. ii. p. 213.

cran presque imperceptible indique à la fois et le sommet de la plaque et le commencement de l'inscription. Cette inscription, au lieu d'être écrite comme toutes les autres sur le champ de la croix, est tracée sur les bords des quatre côtés si bien qu'elle fait le tour de la croix. La ligne n'est doublée qu'à deux endroits, une fois pour un mot placé en surcharge, et l'autre fois pour la terminaison du second vers. Comme toutes les autres, elle a été écrite au moyen d'un instrument aigu. Le caractère graphique de l'écriture a la plus grande ressemblance avec celui des croix d'Edmund's Bury, sur lesquelles on lit ces mots : "Crux Cri[sti] pellit hostem."^a

Ajoutons que cette croix ne contient pas comme les autres une simple formule d'absolution ; mais originale et neuve dans son genre, elle est tout à la fois une indication sépulcrale et une demande de prières.

De ma vie je n'aurais réussi à déchiffrer cette écriture, plus désordonnée que les autres, et pleine d'abréviations. J'ai eu le bonheur de trouver un Œdipe dans la personne de M. Vallet de Viriville, l'un des professeurs les plus distingués de notre Ecole des Chartes. Après lui avoir adressé mes deux croix en le priant de les montrer à ses éminents confrères en paléographie, MM. Lacabane, Delisle, Quicherat et de Wailly, voici quelle a été la réponse de ce diplomate aussi obligeant qu'érudit.

"J'ai reçu dimanche dernier (13 Avril) votre lettre, et les deux croix d'absolution qu'elle accompagnait. Bien que fort occupé, je me suis dérobé avec empressement quelques moments de loisir pour examiner ces plaques vénérables. Comme vous le dites fort bien, la plus petite reproduit une formule connue. Je l'ai donc négligée d'autant plus volontiers qu'elle est plus oxydée et plus confuse que l'autre. J'ai commencé par débrouiller l'inscription de la plus grande, et j'ai fait un sens en laissant de côté plus d'un détail.

"Hier mercredi j'ai porté vos deux plaques à la Société des Antiquaires de France, où se trouvaient MM. Quicherat, Lacabane, et Léopold Delisle. Je leur ai soumis les deux petits monuments et mon canevas de lecture. La légion a travaillé séance tenante, et M. Delisle notamment m'a fourni de très bonnes améliorations. Voici le résultat de notre examen au point où il en est actuellement. Il faut placer la croix le cran en haut et lire de gauche à droite. Nous y trouvons les trois vers léonins qui suivent.

Hec^b est Gullermi crus^c istic intumulati
Ergo *Pater noster* quisquis versus legis hos ter
Dicas, ut^d requiem det sibi Cristus: amen.

^a Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of London, vol. iii. p. 166.

^b Ou Hic.

^c Pour crux.

^d Douteux.

“ Ici est la croix de Guillaume inhumé en ce lieu : Donc qui que tu sois qui lis ces vers dis trois *Patenostres*, afin que le Christ lui donne le repos (des justes). Ainsi-soit-il.”

“ La lecture du dernier vers ne nous satisfait pas complètement, mais l'ensemble me paraît bon. Telle qu'elle est veuillez prendre en gré notre besogne.”

Il ne me reste plus qu'à remercier M. Vallet de Viriville et ses savants collaborateurs de leur obligeance et de leur perspicacité. Par la paléographie, ils placent nos croix au xii^e siècle : par l'archéologie nous croyons devoir attribuer aussi les tombeaux à la même époque. Les conclusions, on le voit, sont concordantes. Le lecteur jugera et prononcera.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

Inspecteur des monuments historiques
de la Seine-Inférieure.

Dieppe, le 1^{er} Mai, 1856.



CROIX DE GUILLAUME : DE BOUTEILLES.

^a M. N. de Wailly, consulté sur nos Croix par M. Vallet de Viriville, a complètement partagé son opinion.

V. *Memoir of the Life of Adrian the Fourth, by the Rev. E. TROLLOPE, F.S.A.*

Read April 10th, 1856.

NICHOLAS, the son of Robert Breakspear, was born early in the twelfth century at Langley Abbot's, in Hertfordshire.^a

His father appears to have been a younger son of a family deriving its name from a place situated in the adjoining parish of St. Michael; but was so indigent as to have had recourse to mendicant habits, in which his child probably participated. Upon the death of his wife, Robert Breakspear became first a lay-brother, and then a monk, of the adjacent Abbey of St. Alban's, leaving his young son to provide for himself. Nicholas, thus deserted, very naturally hung about the monastery of which his father was an inmate, waiting among the crowd assembled at its gate for the daily distribution of its broken victuals, and occasionally being employed in fulfilling some of the menial offices of the establishment. Now also he began to receive the first rudiments of his education, through the assistance of his patrons, but appears not to have exhibited much aptitude as a scholar under their tuition, as his father bitterly reproached him for his indolence, and expressed his deep shame at seeing him still, although now grown up, daily among the mendicant throng that waited for the monastic dole, bidding him betake himself to some profession, and earn his bread by the sweat of his brow. Nicholas, in consequence, applied to Richard, then abbot of St. Alban's, to be admitted to his novitiate in that house; as, however, he had advanced but little in his scholastic learning, the Abbot refused to receive him,

^a Stowe's Chronicle, p. 150. Robert Breakspear, whose name is also spelt Break-speare and Breke-spere, has been termed Robert Chambers by Lingard (vol. ii. p. 272), who describes him as "an obscure clerk, and afterwards Monk of St. Alban's." Nicholas, his son, is said to have been born at St. Alban's, in Baker's Chronicle, p. 83, but he was probably born at Langley, before his father removed to the neighbouring town of St. Alban's.

and recommended him to apply himself to his books with greater diligence if he wished to assume the monastic habit.^a Deeply disappointed at this rejection, and hurt also by his father's reproaches, he fled from the scene of his early humble career, and, shortly afterwards, from the land of his birth.^b Crossing the Channel, he wandered from place to place in France, subsisting on the alms of the charitable, until arriving at Paris he entered its university; and now betaking himself in earnest to the acquisition of learning, he received much praise from his instructors there. After awhile, however, not being satisfied with Paris, he resumed his old wandering habits, and at length reached the monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Rufus, then existing without the walls of Avignon, in Provence. There he became a servitor, and by his modesty, obedience to orders, and submissiveness, so gained the good will of the canons, that after a few years they admitted him into their order. He had now a favourable opportunity of prosecuting his studies, and as he undoubtedly possessed great natural ability, to which he now added the most unwearied diligence, he shortly became so eminent for the depth of his theological and philosophical knowledge, that the Canons of St. Rufus elected him first as their prior, and afterwards as the head of their house, upon the death of Abbot William, which occurred A.D. 1137.

At this period the rules of the order had been very widely disregarded in the monastery; so that Nicholas, who had ever observed them himself as a simple monk of the house, felt it incumbent on him to enforce them now, when he was holding the responsible office of Abbot. By so doing, however, he incurred the general displeasure of the Canons, and, upon his perseverance in attempting to effect a reformation in their conduct, they became so enraged against him as to enter into a combination for the purpose of procuring his deposition. Collecting together a series of calumnious accusations against him, they forwarded them to Eugenius the Third, then Pope, hoping that he would be crushed under their united attack; but when he proceeded to Rome to defend himself, he did so with such ingenuousness and acumen, that Eugenius, fully convinced of his innocence, dismissed the discontented brethren of his house, and recommended them to live in peace, submitting themselves, as they were in duty bound, to the government of their superior.

^a Baker affirms that the monastic habit was refused him because he was a bondman of the house.

^b Nicholas is said to have been rector of Tydd St. Mary's, a village on the south-eastern border of the county of Lincoln, by Gough, in his *Continuation of Camden*, vol. ii. p. 341, and is described as an "Antient Rector" of that place, in "*Britannia Antiqua et Nova*," but he never appears to have revisited his native country after this his early emigration from it as a pauper.

Undeterred, however, by this rebuff, so far from following such just counsel they again approached the pontifical chair, bringing a fresh mass of complaints against Nicholas, under which they still hoped he might succumb. But Eugenius perceiving the animus by which they were influenced, now sharply ordered them to return to Provence and elect another Abbot, with whom they might be willing to live in peace,^a retaining Nicholas about his own person, whom he shortly afterwards made Bishop of Albano, and a cardinal, A.D. 1146.^b Two years afterwards Nicholas was sent by the Pope into Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as legate for the purpose of propagating the Christian faith amongst the heathen population of those countries,^c where his preaching was very highly esteemed, and so successful that the last remains of idolatry were utterly extirpated; and he did much to confirm the then young Christian Church of the North, establishing the first archbishopric in Norway at Drontheim, and in Sweden raising Upsal to be the metropolitan see. Here he continued his labours as a missionary for upwards of four years; but upon the death of his kind patron Eugenius, which occurred July 8th, A.D. 1153, he returned to Rome, where he remained until the death of Anastasius the Fourth, the successor of Eugenius, Dec. 2nd, A.D. 1154, after a short pontificate of one year and five months. And now the culminating point of his extraordinary career was at hand: Nicholas Breakspear, the mendicant's son of Langley, the rejected of St. Alban's Abbey, the hated Abbot of St. Rufus, being elected as the 167th supreme Pontiff by the unanimous decision of the Cardinals, Dec. 3, 1154, and was forthwith enthroned and crowned, when he assumed the title of "Adrian the Fourth," as being one popular among the Italians. But though now a temporal sovereign, and as the successor of St. Peter possessing vast spiritual power, yet he found himself in a position of great difficulty. At home his own Roman subjects being prepared to struggle with him for his temporal dominion, and an extensive heresy prevailing very widely amongst them, which threatened to bring the whole ecclesiastical order into general contempt; whilst abroad, the German Emperor, on the one hand, having claims upon the

^a The Pope's exact words were, "I know who raises this storm; it is Satan: Go and choose one with whom you can, or rather *will* live in peace; he of whom you thus complain shall be no longer burthensome to you."—W. of Newburgh, I. 2, C. 6. The circumstance of Nicholas's foreign birth is supposed to have been the cause of this angry feeling towards him by some (see Lingard, vol. ii. p. 272); but as he was popular in his house as a monk, and his election to the abbacy appears to have been unanimous, it seems clear that it was the rigid discipline he wished to establish, and not his Anglican extraction, that excited so much hostility against him.

^b Hist. B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum.

^c Ibid.

independence of the Papacy, was about to enforce them; on the other, William of Sicily had assumed the title of King without the sanction of the Papal authority, whereby a storm was threatening in the South; and yet he had no party whereon he could lean for support in endeavouring to meet these imminent pontifical dangers, so that after a very short experience of them he observed to his countryman John of Salisbury, "that beholders might esteem the tiara a splendid thing, but that the wearer found it was a burning crown,"^a on the same occasion deeply lamenting his elevation, declaring that at every step in his ascent towards greatness he had been harassed with additional cares, that in his cell at St. Rufus he had tasted real happiness, but that now his whole time was absorbed in fulfilling the numerous duties of his high office. Adrian, however, was not of a disposition to yield under the pressure of any difficulties without a struggle, nor tamely to resign the least of the Papal privileges, so that when his Roman subjects immediately after his elevation, at first by prayers and then by menaces, endeavoured to persuade him to leave all temporal power in the hands of the Senators, he indignantly dismissed their deputies from his presence, although the contest that had for some years been carried on between several of his predecessors and their subjects on this point had occasioned the violent death of one of them, and the repeated flight of another from his capital.^b Upon this the Romans invited Arnold of Brescia,^c a celebrated schismatic, who had

^a Newbrig. II. 6. "Coronam et phrygium merito clara videri, quia ignea sunt." Joan Salis. Policrat.

^b Toward's the close of Innocent the Second's pontificate (1142), Tivoli, Palestrina, Tusculum, and Albano had endeavoured to throw off the papal dominion, and to secure their independence; whilst two years afterwards, when Lucius II. had assumed the tiara, the Romans participating also in these designs, although they acknowledged Lucius as their lawful bishop, rejected him entirely as their sovereign, and assuming the government themselves, elected Jordan, the son of Peter Leo, as their Prince, and appointed a senate. Upon this, Lucius, unable to procure any assistance from the Emperor of Germany, to whom he appealed, boldly collected together some forces, and putting himself at their head advanced to the capitol, where the senate was assembled, intending to drive them out, but his troops were repulsed, and he was so seriously injured by a stone flung at him, that he died a few days afterwards. His successor, Eugenius III., at first contented himself with retaining only the spiritual power, but by force of arms and the assistance of the Tiburtines in the first place, and secondly by that of Roger King of Sicily, having recovered the temporal power twice, he as often was compelled to fly from Rome, and finally returned only through consenting to submit to a compromise with the Romans. Anastasius the Fourth being of an exceedingly conciliatory disposition, and his reign lasting only for one year, although the struggle had not been again renewed, the question still remained undecided when Adrian succeeded to the papal chair.

^c Arnold was by no means the first schismatic teacher or reformer of the twelfth century; a series of these having arisen from time to time who strongly inveighed against the lives and doctrines of the

been banished from Rome by Pope Eugenius, to return, and he shortly so inflamed the minds of the people, not only against the clergy in general, but against the temporal rule of the Pontiff, that Adrian felt it prudent to retire from the city to the other side of the Tiber. Nor was this retreat unnecessary, as one of his Cardinals, the Presbyter of St. Pudientia, whilst on his way to the Pope's presence, was shortly after so brutally assaulted by the mob as to be in danger of his life. This act, however, was the means of arousing the Pontiff's anger^a so deeply, that he put the whole city under an interdict; and for a considerable time every church in Rome was closed, and none of the offices of religion were used, either for the newly born or for the dead. This shortly produced a partial submission on the part of the revolvers, but Adrian would not relax his ban until the senators took an oath that they would henceforth obey him as their sovereign, and drive Arnaldo and all his adherents from Rome.^b To which terms they were forced to submit, and the following day being Maunday Thursday, 1155, the churches were once more opened with much joy, and peace was restored. In the mean time Henry the Second, who had ascended the throne of England on the same year and month as that of Adrian's election, hastened to send an embassy to Rome for the purpose of congratulating him on his elevation, from the feeling of satisfaction which he doubtless experienced that one of his subjects had been selected to fill so highly exalted a position. John, a learned

Romish Clergy. In 1119, when Calixtus II. was Pope, a Reformation was attempted at Toulouse by a party of persons under Peter de Bruis, who condemned the Eucharist, Infant Baptism, Marriages, and all ecclesiastical Orders. In 1134, when Innocent II. was Pope, Henry the Hermit in his preaching condemned Infant Baptism, Cross worship, the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, Altars, and even Churches, as being superstitious, and by the aid of pretended miracles had attracted together a vast number of followers. Again, a little later, Peter Abelard preached in France against the same doctrines, and also against the possession of temporalities on the part of the clergy, maintaining that they ought to possess no property, but be satisfied with the tithes and offerings of the laity, leading sober self-denying lives, and discarding the proud titles they had assumed, as being highly unbecoming the lowly followers of Jesus. And then Arnaldo of Brescia, having studied under Peter in France, began to preach the same doctrines in Italy 1139, where his great natural eloquence, and the support of the laity, enabled him to bring the clergy into much contempt, until at length he, together with his followers, was silenced by a sentence of banishment from Italy. But though absent in person, very many who had embraced his opinions formed a large party, still remaining in Rome, which had doubtless caused the death of Pope Lucius, and the repeated flight of Eugenius.

^a According to "*Platina de vitis Pontificum*," Adrian assailed the people with such bitter execrations, that they both drove Arnaldo from the city and compelled the senators to resign the magistracy, leaving the power of governing the city entirely in the Pontiff's hands.

^b "*Codex Vatican. apud Baron. ann. 1145.*"

monk of Salisbury,^a two prelates, Robert Abbot of St. Alban's, and other ecclesiastics, were selected for this purpose, bringing a letter and gifts so numerous from the King to Adrian, that he only accepted some of them, whilst upon their presentation he could not refrain from remarking, with a smile, that such profuseness on the part of England contrasted strongly with the refusal of the monastic habit he had so earnestly sought for in his native land, and sought in vain.^b The letter contained very wholesome counsel, such as an archbishop might have given with much propriety to one of his bishops, rather than what we might have expected one sovereign would have addressed to another, urging him first to choose only men of piety, justice, and free from covetousness, to be his ministers, instead of mere scions of noble or wealthy houses; and then to do all in his power to assist the Christian cause against the Infidels in the East.^c This, however, was not by any means all that Henry wished to effect through the agency of his mission, for he was most anxious to obtain from Adrian two very important concessions. He had solemnly sworn to renounce the earldom of Anjou in favour of his brother Geoffrey, should he ascend the throne of England, in accordance with the will of his father Geoffrey Duke of Anjou; but so far from fulfilling that oath, he had not only retained the earldom, but had seized the towns of Chinon, Lodun, and Mirabel, with which his brother had been invested by his father before his death, granting him instead only a pension of £1000 English, and 2000 Angouvin, and now he sought to obtain an absolution from his oath, declaring that he had sworn under the influence of force, and without a due knowledge of the consequences. Upon which grounds the Pope granted his

^a Afterwards Bishop of Chartiers, or Chartres.—Stowe, p. 150.

^b This observation was probably especially directed towards Abbot Robert, the successor of that Richard who had rejected him from St. Alban's; but he bore no ill will towards him or his abbey, and, as a sign of his favour, exempted that house from all episcopate jurisdiction, placing it immediately under the Holy See. Rose's "Life of Hadrian." The abbot presented his holiness with gold and silver of no small weight, and other precious gifts of great value; also three mitres and sandals of admirable work, which the Lady Christian, Prioress of Margate, had diligently made. The Pope viewed the mitres and sandals, and commended greatly his devotion and courtesy, but merely said, "I refuse thy gifts, because thou once denied me shelter under the wings of your religious house when I craved your charity and begged the monastic habit." To which this Abbot readily answered, "My Lord, it was not in our power to receive you when the will of God opposed it, whose great wisdom had designed you to serve him in a higher station." Then the Pope, applauding his witty and ingenious answer, added, "Dear Abbot, ask boldly what thou desirest, for nothing shall be wanting to the blessed Alban." Then the Abbot, encouraged by the leave of the Pope, disposed of all those gifts.—Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire, by Sir Henry Chauncy, p. 434. Gathered from Matthew Paris.

^c Petrus Blesens. Ep. 163.

petition.^a A second concession he was desirous of receiving was Adrian's sanction to an enterprise he had begun to contemplate immediately upon coming to the throne, namely, the conquest of Ireland. Having no title whatever to that island, nor any pretext to wage war against its inhabitants, he sought to cover his ambitious design by an assumption of pretended religious zeal. Affecting, therefore, to look upon the whole Irish people as heathens, although Christianity had long been established in Ireland, he applied to the Pope to ratify a scheme he proposed of conquest, mingled with conversion, and as such an application could not but be flattering to the Pontiff, inasmuch as the See of Rome, amongst other outrageous pretensions, had arrogantly assumed the right of sovereignty over all Islands as soon as they had embraced Christianity, Hadrian wrote thus to Henry in reply:—"There is no doubt, and you acknowledge it, that Ireland, and all the Islands which have received the faith, appertain to the Roman Church; but if you wish to take possession of that island in order to banish vice from it, to enforce the observance of the Christian doctrines, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you our permission to conquer it."^b At the same time sending back to the King, with this licence, a gold ring, as a token of investiture, both of which were carefully preserved in the arches of Winchester.

Adrian, having now in a great measure subdued the rebellious turbulence of his own subjects, was called upon to meet another danger from without, which threatened to be of a very serious character. As an Englishman he could not expect to attract the sympathy of any of those great nations lying near his own state, upon one or other of which the Pontiffs of the twelfth century usually relied for support when assailed by another, such as Germany and Sicily, whilst at the commencement of his reign he could not but have been uncertain as to whether their intentions were pacific towards his Government, or the reverse. At such a time, then, he must have heard of the advance of Frederic Barbarossa (who had

^a This prince was shortly afterwards elected by the people of Nantes to rule over them.—Lingard, vol. ii. p. 272. Hume seems to doubt the truth of this claim on the part of Geoffrey, vol. i. p. 293 (Hughes's Edition, and Note on the passage, p. 374): but it rests on the authority of William of Newbridge, p. 383; whilst the request on the part of Henry for a dispensation from the Pope in reference to this claim appears to be strongly indicative of its justness.

^b This licence or bull is contained in the "*Topographia Hiberniæ*," by Giraldus Cambrensis, dedicated to Henry the Second, and in Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. I. p. 15. Henry meant to have given Ireland to his youngest brother William ("*Chron. Norm. ad ann. 1154*"), but he deferred the execution of this design until 1172.

lately been elected Emperor of Germany^a) towards his territory with considerable alarm, and particularly as he was accompanied by a very large army. Frederic had passed over the Alps, for the purpose of reducing several cities of Lombardy that had thrown off their allegiance to him, such as Milan, Asti, Tortona, &c., and had fully effected his intention; after which, entering Pavia, he was there crowned by the bishop of that diocese as King of Lombardy, and was now beginning to march towards Rome, with the avowed intention of being also crowned as Emperor by the Pope. The first step Adrian took upon the approach of the Emperor attended by so alarming a force, was to fortify the towns of Viterbo, Orvieto, and Civita Castellana, &c., as well as to stir up a martial spirit in the hearts of their citizens, hoping that they might be able to offer some resistance to the coming host, should he be severely pressed. But, placing still greater confidence in the power of diplomacy, he sent two Cardinals, as commissioners, to meet the Emperor, for the purpose of discovering his intentions, and if possible of treating with him. These Frederic received with all due honour at St. Quirico in Tuscany, where they found him encamped, and at once granted their first request, that Arnaldo, the troublesome schismatic of Brescia, who had escaped from the custody of the Cardinal of St. Nicholas, should be delivered up to them,^b but declined to treat with them on any other points until he had ascertained how his own ambassadors, the Archbishops of Cologne and Ravenna, had been received at Rome, whom he had previously despatched to Adrian. These unfortunately had met with the same reception on the part of the Pope at Civita Castellana, whither he had retreated for the sake of security. But both bodies of envoys meeting accidentally on their return to their respective courts, agreed to repair to Frederic, then at Viterbo, who, upon their introduction, solemnly swore that he had no hostile intentions either towards them or the Pope, but, on the contrary, that he was ready to pay all due honour to the See of Rome; so that when the Cardinals bearing this report reached Adrian, he at once consented to crown Frederic, but expressed a desire to have a personal interview with him previously. In compliance with this request, Frederic advanced to Sutri, whilst the Pope, attended by a vast escort of Cardinals, hastened from his strong hold to meet the monarch. But now a *contretemps* occurred which might very readily have utterly thwarted all these pacific overtures, for, although Adrian was very honourably received, and

^a In 1152, having previously been Duke of Suabia.

^b The wretched Arnaldo having been taken to Rome was publicly executed by order of the prefect or governor of that city, and his body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber, lest they should be worshipped by the people as relics of a saint.—Otto Fris. I. i. c. 12.

conducted with much state by the chief princes of the empire to Frederic's tent, as that monarch did not appear to hold the papal stirrup, nor lead the mule on which Adrian was mounted, the Cardinals and the greater part of his retinue rapidly retreated back to Civita Castellana, leaving their lord to shift for himself. Upon which, although naturally alarmed and agitated by the flight of his suite, he entered the Emperor's tent, when having seated himself in a chair of state provided for his use, Frederic prostrated himself before him and kissed his foot, expecting in return to receive the papal kiss of peace, which, however, Adrian declined giving, as the Emperor had not previously complied with all the forms of etiquette claimed by the Court of Rome on such occasions. But after a whole day of discussion on this point, Frederic, wishing to secure the friendship of the Pope, consented to lead the papal mule for a short distance in the sight of his whole army,^a when the desired salutation was bestowed upon him, and the two potentates began to advance together towards Rome with a view to the coronation of the Emperor. Hearing of this, the people of Rome, affecting to assume a regal character independent of their sovereign pontiff, sent deputies to Frederic offering him in their name the imperial crown if he would engage to restore to them their Senate, the Equestrian Order, and their ancient privileges: by whom, however, they were most indignantly rejected, Frederic reminding them how they had been conquered by the Lombards and afterwards by the Franks, through whom he had inherited their territory. "Rome, therefore, (said he) is mine, not yours to give, and it does not become subjects to exact oaths from their sovereigns."^b The Roman deputies thus rebuffed hastily retired; after which, Adrian being well aware how deeply the party they represented in Rome would resent such a contemptuous dismissal, strongly recommended the Emperor to provide against the revengeful anger which he knew would now certainly be latent in their hearts, if not openly exhibited by their actions. Frederic, accordingly, that very night sent forward a body of a thousand horse, under the direction of Cardinal Octavian, to take possession of St. Peter's and the portion of Rome lying on that side of the Tiber, which was successfully effected without any opposition, and the next morning (June 18th, 1155) both potentates, attended by the army, entered the

^a The precise distance claimed was nine Roman paces; but Frederic had regarded this demand as an indignity to which he was unwilling to submit, Lothario, of all his predecessors, alone having consented to observe it in the Pontificate of Innocent the Second.

^b The rejection of such overtures by Frederic was doubtless very pleasing to the Pontiff, although the total want of any recognition of the Papal power over Rome must have been extremely galling to Hadrian's feelings, if he was cognisant of this at the time.

Basilica, where the ceremony of the coronation was celebrated before the altar of St. Peter and St. Paul, amidst the acclamations of all present.^a No sooner, however, had the Pontiff placed the crown on Frederic's brows and the sceptre in his hand, than the Roman people, rushing wildly out of their city over Hadrian's bridge and from the Castle of St. Angelo, boldly attacked the guards stationed to protect the entrances of the Transtiberine City and the Vatican, killing all the Germans they encountered, including some almost in the presence of Adrian himself. Enraged at this assault, the Emperor, who had retreated to his camp in the Neronian fields, immediately commanded a portion of his forces to advance, and a contest ensued lasting for some hours, but at length the Romans were routed, driven out of the Vatican and across the Tiber with considerable slaughter, taking refuge within the walls of Rome, and leaving many prisoners in the hands of the Emperor, by whom however they were, for the most part, eventually released at the intercession of Adrian.^b Yet neither the severity nor the leniency of Frederic had succeeded in abating the hostile spirit of the Romans; for shortly after this he appears to have been in some danger of personal violence from them, when, accompanied by the Pope, he was proceeding on his way to the Lateran, and was obliged to make a considerable detour to reach that church in safety.^c Owing to the great heat of central Italy at this time, which had affected the health of his army, the Emperor began to retire northwards, accompanied by the Pope, but halted at the Ponte Lugano, where the Festival of St. Peter was celebrated by the two monarchs, with the greatest solemnity. Hither the citizens of Tivoli sent a deputation to Frederic, placing their city at his disposal, of which they presented to him the keys. These he accepted; but when he found that Tivoli was included within the limits of the Papal States, he afterwards, for fear of offending Adrian, returned them to the deputation, and delivered a letter to them, in which he recommended the people of Tivoli to obey the Pope as their lord and father—saving in all things the imperial right.^d Advancing hence, Frederic took Spoleto by assault, which had refused to submit to him; and after suffering it to be plundered by his soldiers, levelled it to the ground. Thence he marched to Ancona, where the ambassadors of the Greek Emperor Manuel Comnenus waited upon him, and offered him an immense sum of money on the part of their master, if he would enter into an alliance with him in opposition to William King of

^a Otto Frising. I. i. c. 22.

^b Hist. B. Platinae de vitis Pontificum Romanorum.

^c Ibid.

^d Codex Vatican. apud Bar. ad ann. 1155.

Sicily (who had lately succeeded his father Roger), and would march his army towards the south against him. The sickness, however, amongst his forces having increased by this time, the Emperor could not accede to their proposition, but retired back into Germany.^a Thus terminated the Emperor's expedition to Rome in a manner at once so highly conducive to the honour of Adrian, and the exaltation of the Papal See. No sooner, however, had the Pope established these friendly relations with Frederick, than he was called upon to meet another danger, which had for some time been gathering in the south.

William, King of Sicily and Apulia, was crowned by Hugh, Archbishop of Palermo, on Easter-day, 1154; and upon Adrian's elevation shortly afterwards, had sent ambassadors to congratulate him upon the occasion, and to obtain a renewal of the usual Papal privileges in his favour; but this request was not granted, because he had assumed the title of King, and had been crowned as such without taking the oaths demanded by the Court of Rome as a vassal of the Church; whilst afterwards, when William was visiting Apulia, the Pope sent a letter containing a formal complaint to him on this head, by two of his Cardinals. This he had received at Salerno; but perceiving that it was addressed to him as only "Lord" of Sicily, he angrily returned it to the bearers, and ordered them instantly to quit his dominions; an act which was so highly resented by the Pope, that he proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication against William, declaring him to be a rebel and an enemy to St. Peter and his Church, and absolving all his subjects from their oath of allegiance.^b At this critical juncture, William was obliged to return to Sicily, for the purpose of quelling some disturbances there; but he commanded Asclepinus, the Governor of Apulia in his absence, to raise an army, and to lay siege to Benevento, the great southern Papal stronghold at that time. In compliance with these orders, having drawn together what forces he could collect, that officer advanced to Benevento, and destroying all before him with fire and sword, laid close siege to the place. But despairing, on account of the vigorous resistance he met with from the inhabitants, of being able to reduce it with the troops he had then with him, he abandoned the enterprise, and marching into the territories of Rome, took and burnt Cepperano, Bacano, Frusinone, and Acre, and on his march back into Apulia levelled with the ground the walls of Aquino, Pontecorvo, and of several other castles belonging to the monks of Monte Cassino. But now an event occurred that completely altered the aspect of affairs, and soon put an end to such successes on the part of William's deputy. A report

^a Bowers' Hist. of the Popes, vol. vi. p. 86.

^b Hist. B. Platinae.

reached Italy that the King had died ; upon which all the nobles banished by his father immediately returned, and being supported generally by the people, they seized all the cities and open country of Apulia, Calabria, and Abruzzo, with the exception of Naples, Salerno, Amalfi, and a few castles. This movement had doubtless been fostered by Adrian, and he now advanced to Benevento in person, still further to countenance the enterprise. Here ambassadors from Manuel Emperor of Constantinople waited upon him, offering to enter into an alliance with him against William, proposing to give five thousand pounds' weight of gold and a supply of troops for the purpose of utterly expelling that monarch from Italy, on condition that three maritime cities of Apulia should be delivered up to the Greek forces on their landing.^a This offer Adrian gladly accepted, and at the same time forwarded a communication to the Emperor of Germany, in which he invited him to join the confederacy. Such a combination so alarmed William, that he was now most anxious to obtain peace almost on any terms, and, through the medium of ambassadors, proposed not only to restore to Adrian all the cities he had taken, but to add three others of his own to the patrimony of St. Peter, to force the Pope's turbulent Roman citizens to obey him, and to pay him the same sum that had been offered by Manuel, asking only in return to be absolved from excommunication, and for the investiture of the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia. These terms Adrian would have readily accepted, but a majority of his Cardinals most rashly determined on a contrary course, and that the contest should be vigorously carried on until William was entirely driven out of Italy. Reduced to desperation by the rejection of his pacific overtures, William, having assembled an army in Sicily, in an incredibly short space of time, embarked from Messina, and, suddenly landing at Salerno, now advanced against the Greek forces stationed in the vicinity of Brindisi. These he completely routed, and shortly after took the town itself, in which he was so fortunate as to find the treasure sent by the Greek Emperor to the Pope for the prosecution of the war, and several of his own rebellious barons. After which brilliant and perhaps but little-expected success, advancing to Bari, he utterly destroyed it, although it offered no resistance—an act of severity so intimidating to the rebels, that all his subjects with one accord immediately returned to their allegiance. Flushed with victory in his own dominion, William now entered that of the Pope, and laid siege to Benevento, where Adrian, his Cardinals, and the remaining leaders of the Apulian revolvers had taken refuge, which he prosecuted with so much

^a Hist. B. Platinae.

earnestness that the Pope, perceiving the city walls and gates could not resist so furious an attack much longer, sent three of his Cardinals to propose terms of peace. William assenting, after some negotiations on the part of the two potentates' commissioners, it was agreed that the Pope on his part should withdraw the excommunication from the King, and that he should invest him with the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia, and the principality of Capua, as well as acknowledge him to be lawful lord of the dukedom of Naples, of the principality of Salerno, of the march of Ancona, and all other cities, &c. of which he was then possessed. Also, that no appeals should be made to the Pope without the King's sanction, nor any legate be sent to Sicily without his permission; and that the clergy should be free to elect whom they would as ecclesiastical dignitaries in his kingdom, subject only to the King's approval, without reference to the Pope. On the other hand, William engaged to refrain from all further hostilities; to swear allegiance to the apostolic see; and to pay a yearly tribute to the Pope for Apulia, Calabria, and the March, as feudatory of the Roman church. This treaty having been confirmed by a bull, William was received by Adrian in the church of St. Marcian, outside the walls of Benevento, and there absolved from the excommunication that had rested upon him for upwards of a year.^a At this time Fulcher patriarch of Jerusalem and six eastern bishops, who had first landed at Otranto, and followed the Pope when on his way to Benevento, came to remonstrate against the privileges that had been granted to the Knights Hospitallers by the late Pope Anastasius IV., and which they had greatly abused; but they do not appear to have succeeded in gaining their point, no positive decision having been pronounced. Adrian, however, seized this opportunity of endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the Eastern and Western churches;^b and either now, or shortly afterwards, sent legates to the Emperor Manuel for the purpose of effecting so desirable an object, which, however, was prevented by his rupture with the Emperor of Germany, with whom he continued at variance during the whole remainder of his pontificate, and which must have absorbed his continual attention. After the treaty had been concluded with William, Adrian made a progress through a portion of his realm, and was so pleased with Orvieto that he continued to remain there, much to its advantage.^c But here his hopes of enjoying a peaceful retirement for awhile must very shortly have been dashed to the ground, for a serious collision between the Emperor and himself now appeared imminent. Although, as we have seen, Adrian had invited Frederic to join in

^a Guill. Tyr. I. 18, c. 8.^b Adrian. Epist. vii.^c Hist. B. Platinæ.

the league against the King of Sicily, and had been forced to make peace with him by the extremely critical position he was in, without having the power of consulting the Emperor's wishes, Frederic was so indignant at this pacification that he would not allow any of his prelates to resort to Rome, but invested Albertus de Mercy with the bishopric of Verdun himself; whilst, in addition to this, he had suffered the Swedish archbishop of Lunden, on his return from Rome, to remain a captive in the hands of thieves, who had previously robbed him of all that he possessed in the imperial territory. And now Adrian on his part was exasperated against the Emperor to such a degree that he unfortunately forwarded to the imperial court not only a letter of remonstrance, but one assuming a tone of boastful superiority, which was very nearly occasioning a most fatal result, in addition to the very serious consequences that actually did arise from the wording of this missive. The two Cardinals who brought it were respectfully received, but when the letter was publicly read before the Emperor, in the presence of the German princes and all his court, and it was found to contain this passage, "That the holy Roman Church had conferred the imperial crown upon the Emperor, with the plenitude of all power and honour, and that he (the Pope) should rejoice had he conferred greater benefits upon him," the assembled lords broke out into the most indignant anger, as well as Frederic himself. Upon which one of the Cardinals, instead of prudently endeavouring to quell the rising storm, haughtily exclaimed, "Of whom then does your Emperor hold the empire, if he holds it not of our lord the Pope?" and would immediately have been pierced by the sword of Otto, Count palatine of Bavaria, had not the Emperor himself held back that enraged prince, and thus prevented such a fearful act of violence.* He, however, immediately dismissed the legates from his presence strongly guarded, and the following morning ordered them to return directly to Rome without the slightest delay in any part of his dominion. His next step was to appeal to the German bishops, thinking, perhaps, that, should sentence of excommunication be passed upon him, it would be prudent to conciliate the prelates of his own realm, and in a general letter to them set forth the insolence of the legates, one of whom he states he had with difficulty saved from death; that he had reason to suppose they meant to plunder the German churches, as he had found papers upon them sealed and signed ready to be filled up according to circumstances; and finally, declaring that whoever should say he wore the imperial crown as a benefit or gift of the Pope was a liar. In the mean

* Roderic in Frideric. l. i. c. 8.

time, the legates had arrived in Rome, and had indignantly poured forth their bitter complaint as to the manner in which they had been dismissed by the Emperor before Adrian and his Council, when, after much discussion, the Pope wisely determined to address a letter on his part to the German bishops, in which, after complaining of the indignity cast upon his legates by the Emperor, and his not suffering any of his subjects to come to Rome, he begged them to demand reparation in his name for the violence thus offered to him and the holy Roman Church on the part of Reinold Chancellor of the Empire and Otto of Bavaria, not in a hostile but in a conciliatory spirit, and thus to heal the difference that had arisen between the Emperor and himself. In reply, the bishops very openly expressed their opinion respecting the unfortunate and very serious rupture that had arisen, declaring that the whole German Empire, as well as the Emperor, was indignant at the contents of his letter; that the Emperor did not mean to prevent pilgrims nor persons having business at Rome from going there, but merely papal encroachments; that their lord was justly indignant on account of a picture that had publicly been exhibited at Rome, representing the Emperor Lothario on his knees before Pope Alexander the Second, holding his hands between those of the Pontiff (which was the distinguishing mark of vassalage), with this inscription :—

“ Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores :
Post homo fit papæ; sumit quo dante coronam.”

That he had made peace with the King of Sicily, entered into other treaties without any reference to the Emperor's wishes; finally, that the chancellor, from whom he demanded reparation, was then in the act of preparing for an Italian campaign on the part of the Emperor,—concluding by entreating the Pope to write once more to their lord in a conciliatory spirit, so that there might be peace between the Empire and the Church. And as Frederic was really on the point of advancing southwards, Adrian very readily followed the bishops' advice, and sent two Cardinals renowned for their judicious character to the imperial court, bearing a letter, wherein he stated his regret that he had given offence by his former one, and explained away the first and natural meaning of those expressions he had made use of in the best manner he could. These messengers of peace, however, soon after they had passed Trent, were seized by two robber counts of that district, who stole from them every thing they possessed and threw them into irons until the brother of one of the captives came and gave himself up as a hostage for the ransom demanded by their captors, after which they pursued their journey to

Augsburg, where the Emperor then was surrounded by his assembling host, to whom they delivered the letter with every mark of the deepest respect. Upon reading which Frederic expressed himself satisfied, and bestowing the kiss of peace upon the envoys in token of reconciliation, dismissed them honourably from his presence.

It was not long, however, before another cause of difference arose between Adrian and Frederic. The Emperor, upon his entry into Italy, had demanded of all the ecclesiastics endowed by him, as well as of the nobles of the Empire, homage, and certain supplies of forage, in accordance with the ancient usages of their respective tenures; but this demand exasperated the Pope to such a degree that when Frederic shortly afterwards sent the Bishop of Vercelli requesting him to confirm the appointment of Guido as Bishop of Ravenna, to which see he had been duly elected by the German clergy, Adrian declined to do so, on the ground that the election was invalid, because Guido, being a subdeacon of the Roman Church, could not be translated to any other benefice without his (the Pope's) previous consent. Upon this the Emperor sent a letter of remonstrance to Adrian by the hands of one of his bishops, pressing him to concede the point; but, so far from yielding, the Pope now wrote a letter full of reproaches to Frederic, and sent it by an ordinary messenger, who quickly retired as soon as he had ventured to deliver the despatch; in consequence of which indignity the Emperor directed his ministers to place his name before that of the Pope in all future communications with the See of Rome, and to address the Pontiff in the singular number instead of in the usual courtly plural style; an act which once more urged Adrian to remonstrate with the Emperor in an indignant epistle, wherein he reproaches him with want of reverence for St. Peter and the Church, for the non-observance of his coronation oath, and for having expelled his legates not only from the Church, but from the cities of the Empire, concluding with threats touching the safety of his crown. This, however, only elicited another lofty communication from Frederic, wherein he repeated his former contemptuous style of address, and declared that he had excluded the papal legates from his territory because they were robbers instead of preachers, concluding with the offensive remark that he perceived pride ruled in the See of St. Peter instead of meekness and humility.^a At this critical juncture some of the German bishops interfered, who, addressing Adrian, besought him to send a conciliatory embassy to the Emperor, so as to prevent an open rupture between the two courts, which

^a Roderic, I. i. c. 18.

would be so destructive to the peace and interest of the Church ; acting upon which suggestion the Pontiff sent four Cardinals, in all due form, to the Emperor in Lombardy, but they were charged with such proposals as he could not have hoped would be accepted. These were five in number, viz. :—1. That the Emperor should send no officers to act for him in Rome. 2. That no forage should be demanded of the Italian bishops, except when the Emperor came to Rome for his coronation. 3. That in Italy the bishops should not be asked to do homage to the Emperor, but only to swear allegiance to him. 4. That the imperial envoys should not be lodged in the bishops' palaces. 5. That the Emperor should restore certain possessions of the Roman Church, and pay tribute for others.^a In answer, Frederic declared that as he was Emperor of Rome he must of necessity possess authority in Rome ; that if ecclesiastics chose to hold temporalities of him they must do him homage for them ; and now once more reproached the Pope for having made an alliance with the Greek Emperor, and peace with the King of Sicily, without consulting him, although he was bound to do so by treaty. He concluded, however, by proposing that a congress should be held for the purpose of discussing these disputed points, to consist of six Bishops chosen by himself, and as many Cardinals on the part of the Pope, whose united decision both potentates should agree to be final. Adrian, however, entirely declined this proposal, declaring that he would fall back upon the treaty already existing between the Emperor and the Papal See, made in the Pontificate of Eugenius the Third. To which Frederic replied, that as the Pope had broken that contract by making a separate peace with one prince, and an alliance with another, it no longer existed, and he would not be bound by it. At this juncture, however, Adrian, after a very short illness, died at Anagni, on the 1st of September, 1159, after a pontificate of four years and nine months, and his body was buried in the Basilica of St. Peter, near the tomb of his predecessor and kind patron Pope Eugenius, on the 4th of that month.^a As his death was sudden, it was immediately suspected that his life had been shortened by poison, so that rumours to this effect were soon rife, which have been seriously entertained and handed down to us by certain historians : Stowe in his Chronicle, p. 150, stating that he was poisoned by a citizen of Rome, whose son he had refused to consecrate, whilst others have assigned a more wonderful but less tragic cause of his decease. It appears that the Emperor Frederic, having unlawfully put away his first wife, had married Beatrix daughter of Rainald Count of Burgundy, Adrian remon-

^a Roderic, I. i. c. 18.^b Ceccan in Chron. ad ann. 1159.

strated with him on this subject, as well as upon matters of state, and had even threatened to excommunicate him. Upon which very probable fact, Conrad of Ursperg built the airy fiction that the excommunication did take place, and that consequently a few days afterwards Adrian, as he was drinking at a fountain, swallowed a fly, which sticking in his throat could not be removed, and so caused his death: a story which Baker in his Chronicle (p. 83) repeats, saying, "He dyed, being choaked with a fly in his drink." And this statement, although apparently far less likely to be true than the former one, actually does point to the real character of the disorder occasioning his death a little more truthfully, which was a quinsy in his throat.*

Such is the remarkable history of the only British subject that ever filled the chair of St. Peter. Rising certainly from a humble, and perhaps from a most abject condition of life, by his natural ability, by his zeal as a missionary, and by his undaunted determination, he surmounted every difficulty in the way leading towards his occupation of one of the loftiest of all worldly positions. In character he was haughty and aspiring; but this blemish, although repulsive in all, and especially so in an ecclesiastic, was not of a personal description, having apparently been assumed for the purpose of upholding the papal power, whilst the age in which he lived was peculiarly adapted to raise up and foster such a feeling, when a great struggle was taking place, not only concerning the imperial and papal rights, but between the lay and spiritual powers throughout the greater part of the Christian world, before the respective limits of each had been distinctly defined. Admitting, however, his haughtiness, let us not fail to remark how closely it was accompanied by zeal for the increase and preservation of the Christian faith. It was this quality, combined with his learning, that led Pope Eugenius to select him as the most fitting agent to propagate the truths of Christianity in the frozen regions of the North, and to encounter all the risks of entrusting himself amongst a savage and heathen people. It was this that urged him to bind Henry of England so strongly to make known the name of Christ in Ireland universally, before he would allow him to assume the sovereignty of that island, as well as to endeavour to reconcile the Eastern and Western churches; whilst his firmness enabled him so to guide the helm of St. Peter's patrimony, that upon his death, although he was still at variance with the Emperor Frederic, the voice and influence of the Roman church was held generally in very high estimation by foreign states, besides having made considerable progress in consolidating his power as a tem-

* Guill. Tyr. I. 18. c. 26.

poral prince in Italy by the erection of an almost impregnable fortress at Radocofani, and by the fortifications he raised at other points in his dominion.^a But it was in private life that his character shone most brightly. First, he was renowned for his learning—besides having a knowledge of the Greek, Latin, Norse, Italian, French, and English languages, being a powerful preacher, well skilled in psalmody, and noted for his eloquence and persuasive powers; whilst, as an author, he wrote a History of his Mission to the North, and a Treatise on the Miraculous Conception, besides many sermons and letters, some of which are still extant. He was a patron of merit, a lover of truth, patient, and gentle; his conversation with his countryman, John the Monk of Salisbury, clearly exhibiting these two last ingredients of his character. Adrian, after he had been severely handled by his countryman, confessing that many of the accusations he had brought against him were true, and, so far from taking offence at his temerity, “smilingly begged him to report to him anything *more* that he might hear to his discredit.” He was entirely free from nepotism; and, instead of enriching his relations, he does not appear to have aided them so much as he might in justice have done.^b Frugal in his private expenditure, he repaired and endowed several churches, besides having executed various public works, and given away large sums in charity.^c

The portrait of Adrian is given in a Latin history of the Popes, entitled, “*Historia B. Platinæ de vitis Pontificum Romanorum*,” published at Cologne by P. Cholinus, in 1610, whence several particulars of Adrian’s career, &c., have been gleaned. It professes to be his “*Vera effigies summo studio emendata et correctæ* ;” but it is not stated whence it was obtained.

^a Hist. B. Platina.

^b In a letter of his successor, Alexander the Third, to Becket, when Archbishop of Canterbury, that pontiff alludes to Adrian’s allowing his *mother* still to be maintained as a poor person by the ecclesiastical alms of Canterbury. And although he is mistaken in this, as she had died (as we have seen) before Adrian left England, some near relation, such as an aunt or sister, is probably here spoken of.

^c Baronius, ex cod. Vatic. Rom. Pont. 379, thus sums up his character :—“*Erat autem vir valde benignus, mitis, et patiens, in Græcâ et Latinâ linguâ peritus, sermone facundus, eloquentiâ politus, in cantu ecclesiastico præcipuus, predicator egregius, ad irascendum tardus, ad ignoscendum velox, hilaris dator, eleemosynis largus, et omni morum compositione præclarus.*”

VI. *On an unrecorded Contract entered into between Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castille and Leon, and Ferdinand, King of Sicily, for the Marriage of Isabella, eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, with Ferdinand, Prince of Capua, May 21, 1476. With Observations by T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq. F.R.S., F.S.A.*

Read 19 June, 1856.

PRIOR to the fifteenth century, Spain being constituted by a number of small independent states, their interests clashed with each other, and serious feuds became the natural consequence. When reduced, however, to one common rule, belonging to one nation, discovery and conquest followed, and its domestic institutions, together with the character of its literature, improved. It is to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that this beneficial consolidation and completion is to be ascribed. The states into which Spain in the beginning of the fifteenth century^a was arranged, consisted of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, and Granada. These at length were included within one monarchy, and Castille became the capital of the kingdom.

The accession of Isabella to the throne of Spain was produced by a variety of extraordinary circumstances and events, which are well known to all who are acquainted with Spanish history. Isabella ascended the throne December 12, 1474, having been born at Madrigal, April 22, 1451. She was scarcely four years old at the death of her father, John II. who was succeeded by Henry IV. the issue by his first wife, Maria of Aragon. Isabella was issue by his second wife, Isabella, granddaughter of John I. of Portugal. She married Ferdinand, born at Sos, in Aragon, March 10, 1452, son of John and Queen Joan. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella took place October 19, 1469, and was solemnized in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the Admiral of Castille, of the Archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank as well as of inferior condition, amounting in

^a Mr. Prescott has given an able summary of the Castilian Monarchy before the fifteenth century in his Introductory Chapter of "The History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic, of Spain," Lond. 1838, 3 vols. 8vo.

all to not less than two thousand. By this marriage Ferdinand and Isabella had five children :—

1. The Princess Doña Isabel, born at Dueñas, October 1, 1470.
2. Juan, Prince of Asturias, born at Seville, June 30, 1478. He married the Princess Margaret, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, and died October 4, 1497, at the age of nineteen years. His widow afterwards married the Duke of Savoy.
3. Doña Juana, born at Toledo, November 6, 1479. She married the Archduke Philip, son and heir of the Emperor Maximilian, and from this union sprung the celebrated Charles V.
4. Doña Maria, born at Cordova in 1482.
5. Doña Catalina, born at Alcala de Henares, December 5, 1485. She married Arthur Prince of Wales. She is the Catherine of Aragon whose portion consisted of 200,000 golden crowns.^a

It is remarkable that all the daughters lived to reign. The Princess Isabella, the eldest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, as just stated, was born October 1, 1470, and an embassy was sent to the court of Louis XI. of France as early as February, 1474, for the purpose of settling the preliminaries of a marriage between the Princess and the Dauphin, the former being then but little more than three years of age. Again, in September 1479, through the interposition of the Infanta Doña Beatrice of Portugal, sister-in-law of King Alphonso, and the maternal aunt of the Queen Isabella, a compact was entered into to terminate the War of Succession carried on between Joanna and Isabella, among the conditions of which was one that an union should take place between the son of Alphonso Prince of Portugal with the Infanta Isabella of Castille; and in the spring of 1490 ambassadors arrived from Lisbon to carry into effect the treaty of marriage between Alonso and Isabella. She was affianced in the month of April in that year at Seville, Don Fernando de Silveyra being the representative of the Prince, heir to the Portuguese monarchy.^b In the following autumn the Princess Isabella was escorted to Portugal by the Cardinal of Spain, the Grand-Master of St. James, and a numerous and magnificent retinue. She arrived there on the 22nd November, 1490, and was married to Prince Alonso, who however died a few months after his union from the effects of a fall from his horse. The widow secluded herself with her family, and for a long time refused to listen to any

^a See Rymer's *Fœdera*, xii. 411.

^b This ceremony is particularly described by Prescott, vol. ii. p. 160.

proposals of marriage, several being made to her, until the year 1497, when she was prevailed upon to espouse Emanuel, King of Portugal, who had for a long time been enamoured of her. She was married at the frontier town of Valencia de Alcantara, and died of a pulmonary disease, August 23, 1498, after giving birth to a son, who was named Miguel. Of the prince, Ferdinand and Isabella, her parents, became the guardians, and in his person the crowns of the three monarchies, of Castille, Aragon, and Portugal, were invested. He, however, died before completing his second year.

The conditions imposed by Isabella upon Emanuel on occasion of her marriage with him were cruel and revolting, and are characteristic of the bigotry with which her mind is reported to have been oppressed. She insisted upon the extraordinary condition that, prior to their marriage, Emanuel should expel all the Jews from his dominions, where, from the period at which they were driven out of Spain, they had hitherto found a resting place. Her proposal of this cruel act found an excuse in a superstitious notion entertained by her, that the misfortunes which had accrued to the kingdom of Portugal owed their origin to the generous protection which had been afforded to this persecuted race. Emanuel's passion overcame his better reason, and he acceded to the base condition the princess had imposed upon him.

I have been induced to make reference to these events in the life of Isabella from having a short time since become possessed of a MS. relating to this princess, and which, as far as my researches have extended (and I have made a diligent inquiry into the matter), makes us acquainted with a circumstance that has not been hitherto noticed. No mention whatever respecting it is made by Don Diego Clemencin, the Perpetual Secretary of the Royal Academy of Madrid, the learned compiler of the elaborate history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, which occupies the whole of the sixth volume of the "Memorias" of the Academy; nor by Mr. Prescott in his able "History of Ferdinand and Isabella." The manuscript to which I refer, and which I have now the honour to place before the Society, is a compact of marriage entered into by Ferdinand and Isabella on the part of their daughter Isabella, and is a proof of the anxiety entertained by them to effect an union for her with a member of the House of Naples. Nothing certainly appears more natural than that Ferdinand and Isabella should be desirous of strengthening themselves with regard to the claims of the House of Aragon to the throne of Naples, the princes of which had been solemnly recognised by the Neapolitans. Ferdinand regarded himself as the representative of the legitimate branch of Aragon, and was therefore

anxious to oppose the claims that might be set up by the House of Anjou, or any other. He looked upon the crown of Naples as his own rightful inheritance.

The title of the MS. to which I have alluded is as follows:—"Capitulacion entre el Rey Catolico D. Fernando y la Reyna D^a Isabel, de Aragon y Castilla, con el Rey D. Fernando de Napoles, y D. Alfonso su hijo, Duque de Calabria, sobrel Matrimonio que anian de contraher La Princesa D^a Isabel, hija de los Reyes Catolicos,^a con D. Fernando Duque de Capua, hijo de dicho Duq. de Calabria y nieto de dicho Rey de Napoles;" and is indorsed as *Public Instrument of the Articles of Marriage between the Prince of Capua and the Princess of Castille, with ratification by the King and Queen of Castille, with their leaden seal appended.* (The seal is wanting, but the cord to which it was attached remains.) 3 May, 1476.

The MS. is beautifully written, and forms seventeen pages folio. At the end it has the autograph signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the Princess Isabella, and also the attestation of various distinguished functionaries, and of Gaspar Daringo, a public notary, by the command of the King and Queen of Castille, Leon, &c. It records that on the 3rd May, 1476, in the Royal Palace, Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castille, &c., together with numerous distinguished officers on the one part, and Lord Alphonso of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, Lord King of Sicily, the first-born, together with his deputy acting under the sign-manuals of the King of Sicily and the Duke of Calabria, and by the great seal of the said King and the seal of the Duke of Calabria on the other, bind themselves to promote by stronger ties the relationship, endearment, and mutual good-will heretofore subsisting between them by entering into a contract of marriage between the Lady Isabella Princess of Asturias, the eldest daughter of the King and Queen of Castille and Leon, and the Prince Ferdinand of Aragon,

^a Prescott gives in a note (Hist. of Ferd. and Isab., II. 378) an explanation relating to the epithet *Most Catholic*. This title, as applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, was given to them by the Pope, who, desirous of offering a compliment upon their conquest of Granada, addressed them as the *Most Christian*, which, however, being a title hitherto only applied to the sovereigns of France, was objected to by the Cardinals, and the epithet of *Most Catholic* substituted for it. The term Catholic had been before applied to the Asturian prince Alphonso, and also to Pedro II., so that it was not new either to the house of Castille or Arragon, and the phrase *Los Reyes Catolicos* is applicable either to a female or male, agreeably to the Spanish idiom, though sounding singularly incorrect to an English ear. The Spanish language requires that when a word having reference both to a masculine and a feminine noun is employed, it should be expressed in the former gender.

Prince of Capua, firstborn of the Lord Duke of Calabria, and nephew of the King of Sicily. The Articles are arranged under eighteen several heads, reciting the terms of the engagement.

In Nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi. Anno a nativitate ejus Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Sexto.

Die Tertio Mensis Maii in Villâ matricalis Regni Castelle, in Regali Palacio in primâ camerâ conjunctâ aule ipsius Palatii: coram nobis Notario publico, et Secretario infra-scripto, ac Testibus subscriptis, constituti Serenissimi et excellentissimi Principis et Domini dñi Ferdinandus et Elizabet,^a Dei gratiâ Rex et Regina Castelle, Legionis, Sicilie, Toleti, Portugalîæ, Gallecie, Yspalis, Cordube, Murcie, Algarbe, Algezire, de Gibraltar, et provincie de Guipuzcoa, Principes Aragonum, ac Domini de Viscaya et de Molina. Agentes et intervenientes ad Infrascripta omnia pro seipsis et eorum Heredibus et Successoribus *ex una parte*. Et Magnificus utriusque juris doctor Antonius de Alexandro de Neapoli, orator, nuncius, et procurator Serenissimi ac Excellentissimi Principis et dñi Ferdinandi Dei gratiâ Regis Siciliæ, Hierusalem, et Hungarie, ac etiam Illustrissimi Domini dñi Alfonsi de Aragonia, Ducis Calabriæ, ejusdem domini Regis Siciliæ primogeniti et vicarii generalis, de cujus mandato, potestate, et procuracione constitit et constat: publico et auctentico documento, propriâ manu ipsorum dominorum Regis Siciliæ et Ducis Calabriæ subscripto, et magno Sigillo pendenti dicti domini Regis Siciliæ ac Sigillo præfati Illustrissimi dñi Ducis Calabriæ munito et sigillato, cujus tenor de verbo ad verbum inferius describetur. Agens et Interveniens ad infrascripta omnia procuratorio nomine et pro parte prefatorum domini Regis Siciliæ et Domini Ducis Calabrie suorum principalium et pro ipsis dominis Rege et Duce eorumque heredibus et successoribus *ex parte alterâ*. Asseruerunt partes ipse pariter coram nobis superioribus temporibus, ad augendam, duplicandam, et forcioribus vinculis astringendam consanguinitatem, caritatem, et mutuam benevolentiam hactenus vigentem inter ipsos supra nominatos Serenissimos dominos, habitum fuisse tractatum et colloquium de matrimonio contrahendo inter illustrissimam dominam Elizabet Principissam Asturiarum eorundem dominorum regis et reginæ Castelle et Legionis filiam primogenitam, et illustrissimum dominum Ferdinandum de Aragonia Principem Capuæ, dicti domini ducis Calabriæ filium primogenitum, et nepotem prefati domini Regis Siciliæ. Et noviter partes ipsas, assistente Divinâ gratiâ, dictum tractatum ad effectum, concordiam, et conclusionem deduxisse, et proinde super dicto matrimonio de communi consensu et voluntate ordinasse infrascripta capitula, convenciones, et pacta, tenoris et continencie subsequentis.

In nomine Sancte Trinitatis, patris filii et Spiritus Sancti, infrascripta capitula, convenciones, et pacta, Subscripto loco et die, juncta et firmata fuerunt: inter Serenissimos et excellentissimos Principes et dominos; dños FERDINANDUM et ELISABET dei gratiâ Regem et Reginam Castelle, Legionis, Sicilie, etc. Principes Aragonum *ex una parte*, et Serenissimum et illustrissimum Principem et dñm dominum FERDINANDUM dei gratiâ regem Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie: ac illustrissimum Dominum ALFONSUM de Aragoniâ ducem Calabrie, ejusdem domini regis primogenitum. Seu magnificum utriusque juris doctorem Antonium de Alexandro de

^a It is thus printed in the MS. In English Isabel is correctly rendered by Elizabeth.

Neapoli eorum oratorem et procuratorem: procuratorio nomine et pro parte ejusdem Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, Hierousalem, et Hungarie, ac illustrissimi domini ducis Calabrie *ex altera parte*: Super sponsalibus et matrimonio, concedente domino, feliciter contrahendis inter illustrissimum dominum FERDINANDUM de Aragoniâ, Principem Capue, nepotem ipsius Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, Hierousalem, et Hungarie: ac filium primogenitum dicti illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et illustrissimam dominam ELIZABET Principissam Asturiarum, primogenitam Castellæ et Legionis, eorundem dominorum Regis et Regine filiam.

1. In primis prefati Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, omni pleniori et meliori viâ et formâ quâ melius fieri potest et debet, firmant et contrahunt matrimonium et sponsalia per verba de futuro inter dictam illustrissimam dominam Elizabet Principissam Asturiarum, eorum filiam, et prefatum illustrissimum dominum Principem Capue, ipsamque dominam Principissam eorum filiam ex nunc despondent in legitimam uxorem et sponsam ejusdem illustrissimi domini Principis Capue, dicto Antonio de Alexandro interveniente, recipiente, et stipulante, Supradicta et Infrascripta omnia, nomine et pro parte ipsorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, etc. et Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et præfati illustrissimi domini Principis Capue et pro ipsorum quolibet; ac promittunt prefati Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, et quilibet eorum, insolidum curare, et facere cum effectû, et modis omnibus, quod ipsa illustrissima domina Principissa eorum filia, cum ad legitimam et nubilem etatem pervenerit, ad omnem requisitionem et voluntatem dicti Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, etc. seu prefati illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, dictum matrimonium cum prefato illustrissimo Principe Capuæ per verba de presenti contrahet et consummabit per carnis copulam secundum usum et morem sacrosancte Romane ecclesie, ac cum illis solempnitatibus et ceremoniis que in contrahendis similibus matrimoniis a jure et consuetudine observantur: cum legitima tamen dispensacione sanctissimi domini nostri Pape propter vinculum consanguinitatis existens inter ipsos dominos Principem et Principissam: que quidem dispensacio procurari et impetrari debeat per utramque partem.

2. Item promittunt ut supra prefati Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, durante hoc tempore, et donec prefata domina Principissa eorum filia ad nubilem ætatem pervenerit, et cum dicto Principe Capue matrimonium contraxerit et consummaverit, prefatam dominam Principissam nemini alteri matrimonio copulare; et matrimonium seu sponsalia ipsius domine Principisse cum nemine alio contrahere vel firmare. Quinymo curare et facere cum effectû et modis omnibus, quod ipsa domina Principissa cum nemine alio matrimonium aut Sponsalia contrahet aut firmabit, nisi cum dicto domino Principe Capue, modo et formâ quibus supra.

3. Item promittunt, ut supra prefati domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, pro dote, et nomine dotis, dicte domine Principisse eorum filie dare prefato illustrissimo dño Principi Capue, seu prefato Ser^{mo} domino Regi Ferdinando vel Illustrissimo domino duci Calabrie duplas auri centum Mille monete Regni Castelle, et florenos auri Aragonum centum Mille, seu illorum justum valorem, quæ dos solvi debeat tempore matrimonii per verba de præsentî celebrandi et consummandi per carnis copulam. Verumtamen si dicti domini, Rex et Regina, non susceperint seu procreaverint filium masculum, et sic dicta Illustrissima dña Principissa remanserit primogenita et legitima heres et successor regnorum prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Reginæ,

tunc et eo casu cesset dicta constitutio dotis centum mille duplarum et centum mille florenorum ex quo dicta Illustrissima domina Principissa habebit totum Regnum pro patrimonio.

4. Item, quia superioribus proximis diebus prefata Ill^{ma} domina Principissa fuit jurata pro primogenitâ legitimâ hærede successura in dictis Regnis per Procuratores et magnates dictorum Regnorum in præsentia nobilis viri Joannis Naclerii de Neapoli, et insuper dicti procuratores nomine dictorum Regnorum promiserunt et juraverunt supradictum Principem Capue, adveniente dicto tempore, et contracto dicto matrimonio, habere, tenere, et reputare pro principe Asturiarum tamquam legitimum maritum dicte domine Principisse, in defectum filii masculi, promittunt prefati Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina, conservare dictam dominam Principissam eorum filiam in dictâ primogeniturâ in defectum filii masculi et tradi facere prædicto Antonio de Alexandro oratori et procuratori instrumenta publicâ dicti juramenti et promissionis.

5. Item promittunt dicti Serenissimi domini, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, tempore contrahendi matrimonii prædicti per verba de presenti, in defectum filii masculi assignare et tradere realiter et cum effectum prefate domine Principisse eorum filie Principatum Asturiarum et ejus possessionem cum omnibus civitatibus, terris, et locis, ac jurisdictionibus et redditibus, ad ipsum Principatum spectantibus et pertinentibus.

6. Item promittunt præfati Serenissimi, Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis, pro majori firmitate et securitate dicti matrimonii, et præfatorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, dare infrascriptos fidejussores et principales promissores: videlicet omnia hec regna Castelle et Legionis, id est, illas civitates et villas quæ repræsentant præfata regna, secundum morem solitum ipsorum Regnorum, vel earum procuratores habentes ad hoc speciale mandatum, qui promittant nomine dictorum Regnorum se facturos et curaturos omnibus modis et cum effectum, quod dicti domini, Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legitima etate prefatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de presenti, et illud consumabunt per carnis copulam, et quod ex illo tempore in antea habebunt et reputabunt dictum dominum Principem Capuæ pro principe Asturiarum ut legitimum maritum dicte domine Principisse in defectum filii masculi, ut fieri assolet in casu simili in dictis regnis, et quod assignabitur per dictos Serenissimos dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis dicte domine Principisse tempore contrahendi matrimonii per verba de præsentis principatus Asturiarum cum omnibus civitatibus, terris, et locis, jurisdictionibus et redditibus ad ipsum Principatum spectantibus et pertinentibus, et ad hoc se obligabunt sub juramento et poenâ unius milionis ducatorum auri per instrumentum publicum.

7. Item promittunt similiter dicti Serenissimi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis dare infrascriptos magnates, fidejussores et principales Promissores: videlicet Enrieum de Guzman Ducem Medine-Sidonie, comitem Nebule; et Didacum Furtado de Mendoça Ducem Infantato, Marchionem Sanctillane; et Garciam Alvarez de Toledo Ducem Alvæ, Marchionem Corie; et Petrum de Velasco comitem de Haro, Connestabulum Castelle; et Alfonsum Enriquez Archimarinum Castelle, et Rodericum Alfonso Pimentel comitem Benaventis, et Petrum Manrique comitem de Trevinyo, qui omnes promittent et jurabunt, et facient homagium juxta morem Hyspaniæ, se curaturos et facturos omnibus modis et cum effectum quod dicti domini Princeps et Principissa adveniente legitima etate prefatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de præsentis, et illud

consumabunt per carnis copulam, et omnia alia que supradicti procuratores promittere debent, de quo fiat instrumentum publicum.

8. Et e converso prefatus Antonius de Alexandro, orator et procurator, nomine et pro parte prefatorum Serenissimorum domini Regis Sicilie, Hierusalem, etc., et prefati Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, virtute mandati et potestatis sibi tradite, omni pleniori et meliori viâ et formâ quâ potest et debet, firmat et contrahit dictum matrimonium seu sponsalia per verba de futuro inter prefatos Illustrissimos Principem et Principissam, ipsumque dominum Principem Capue despondet in legitimum virum et sponsum prefate Ill^{me} domine Principisse Asturiarum, ac promittit, predictis Serenissimis dominis Regi et Reginæ Castelle et Legionis recipientibus et stipulantibus, se, ipsorum quos nomine, et prefatos Serenissimum dominum Regem Sicilie, Hierusalem, etc., et illustrissimum dominum Ducem Calabrie curaturos et facturos modis omnibus et cum effectu, quod prefatus Illustrissimus Princeps Capue, cum ad legitimam et nubilem ætatem devenerit, ad omnem requisitionem et voluntatem præfatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis dictum matrimonium cum jam dictâ illustrissimâ Dominâ Principissâ per verba de presenti contrahet et consumabit per carnis copulam secundum usum et morem sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, et cum illis solemnitatibus et ceremoniis que in contrahendis similibus matrimoniis a jure et consuetudine observantur, cum legitima tamen dispensacione sanctissimi domini nostri *papæ* propter vinculum consanguinitatis de præsentì existens inter ipsos dños Principem et Principissam. Que quidem dispensacio procurari et impetrari debeat per utramque partem ut supradictum est.

9. Item promittit predictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod durante hoc tempore, et donec prefatus dominus Princeps Capue ad nubilem etatem pervenerit, et cum jam dictâ dominâ Principissâ matrimonium contraxerit et consumaverit, dicti Serenissimi domini Rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} Dominus Dux Calabriæ eundem Dominum Principem Capuæ nemini alteri matrimonio copulabunt et matrimonium seu sponsalia ipsius Domini Principis cum nemine aliâ contrahent vel firmabunt. Quinyino curabunt, et facient cum effectu, et modis omnibus, quod ipse dominus Princeps cum aliâ matrimonium aut sponsalia non contrahet vel firmabit, nisi cum prefatâ dominâ Principissâ, modo et formâ quibus supra.

10. Item promittit præfatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod præfatus Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie tempore contrahendi matrimonii et consumandi per carnis copulam constituent et assignabunt realiter et cum effectu cameram in dicto Regno Sicilie honorificam et condecensem juxta dignitatem et statum dicte domine Principisse, prout consuevit assignari aliis uxoribus regum et principum primogenitorum, heredum, et successorum in dicto regno Sicilie: cujus quidem camere quantitas, qualitas et redditus determinari et declarari debeant infra terminum sex mensium computandorum a die dato presentium capitulorum per dictum dominum Regem Sicilie una cum oratore dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, quos redditus cameræ prædictæ præfati dñi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis volunt extendant summâ viginti milium ducatorum quoque anno.

11. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, nomine quo supra, quod, tempore dicti matrimonii contrahendi per verba de presenti et consumandi per carnis copulam, prefati Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie constituent per instrumentum publicum, in

solemni formâ secundum morem patrie, eidem Illustrissime domine Principisse donationem propter nuptias ascendentem ad summam seu valorem quinquaginta Mille duplarum auri Castelle, et quinquaginta mille florenos auri Aragonum, verum si tempore contrahendi matrimonii per verba de presenti et per carnis copulam consummandi non supererit filius masculus prefatis Seren^{is} dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis, et sic cessabit solutio dictæ dotis, prout supra in alio capitulo continetur, eo casu cesset constitutio donacionis propter nuptias in predictâ quantitate: teneantur tamen dicti Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Illustrissimus dominus dux Calabrie eo casu propter principatum Asturiarum et spem successionis prædictorum Regnorum dare et assignare dicte Illustrissime domine Principisse eodem tempore, ultra cameram de quâ supra fit mentio, illud quod inter ipsum Serenissimum dominum Regem Sicilie et oratorem prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis infra dictum terminum mensium sex determinabitur et declarabitur. Quæ quidem determinacio et declaracio fieri debeat habito respectu ad ea quæ Ser^{us} dominus Rex Aragonum et præfatus Seren^{us} dominus Rex Castelle promiserunt, et quilibet eorum promisit, prefate Serenissimæ Domine Regine Castelle et Legionis tempore contracti et firmati matrimonii inter eos, prout continetur in Instrumentis et Scripturis publicis et auctenticis inde confectis.

12. Item promittit prefatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefati Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et illustrissimus dominus Dux Calabrie, necnon illustrissimus Princeps Capue, tempore receptionis dicte dotis centum mille duplarum et centum mille florenorum se obligabunt, et quilibet eorum se obligabit, in cauta et solemni formâ per Instrumentum publicum, dotem ipsam conservare et salvam facere, et eidem Illustrissime Domine Principisse seu suis heredibus restituere in casu soluti matrimonii, et in omnem eventum restitutionis ipsius dotis cum juramento et poenis ac clausulis et cautelis necessariis et oportunis ad consilium sapiens, secundum morem patrie.

13. Item promittit prefatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod dictus Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie infra terminum duodecim mensium a die dato præsentium computandorum jurari faciet dictum Illustrissimum Dominum principem Capue pro primogenito et legitimo successore suorum Regnorum post felices dies ipsius Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et dicti Illustrissimi domini Ducis Calabrie, et quòd, defuncto ipso Serenissimo domino Rege Sicilie, et regnante prefato Illustrissimo Domino duce Calabrie, assignabitur, et realiter et cum effectu tradetur, per eundem Illustrissimum dominum ducem Calabrie eidem Ill^{mo} domino Principi Capue Ducatus Calabrie cum omnibus ipsius civitatibus, terris, et locis, jurisdictionibus, et redditibus, ad ipsum ducatum Calabrie spectantibus.

14. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefatus Ser^{us} dominus Rex Sicilie determinabit et declarabit infra terminum dictorum sex mensium cum oratore præfatorum Ser^{orum} Dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis statum honorificum et condecentem assignandum eidem Ill^{mo} domino principi Capue tempore vite dictorum Ser^{mi} domini Regis Sicilie et Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie. Qui quidem estatus assignari debeat dicto Illustr^{mo} Principi tempore consumationis dicti matrimonii in vitâ dictorum Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie et Ill^{mi} ducis Calabrie.

15. Item promittit præfatus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod præfati Ser^{us} dominus

Rex Sicilie et Illustr^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie pro majori firmitate et securitate dicti matrimonii, et prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum regis et regine Castelle et Legionis, infra terminum duodecim mensium a die datorum presencium computandorum, dabunt infrascriptos fidejussores et principales promissores, videlicet civitates et terras demaniales dicti Regni Sicilie et alias personas representantes dictum Regnum, qui promittant nomine dicti Regni se facturos et curaturos omnibus modis et cum effectu quod dicti Ill^{mi} domini Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legitimâ etate, prefatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de presenti, et illud consummabunt per carnis copulam, et ex illo tempore in antea habebunt et reputabunt dictam Illustrissimam Principissam pro principissa Capue, et suo casu pro ducissa Calabrie, tamquam legitimam uxorem dicti Ill^{mi} domini Principis Capue, et quod assignabitur per dictos Ser^{um} dominum Regem Sicilie et Ill^m dominum Ducem Calabrie dicto Ill^{mo} domino Principi Capue tempore contrahendi dicti matrimonii per verba de presenti, estatus honorificus et condecens, et suo casu ducatus Calabrie, prout in precedentibus capitulis continetur, et ad hoc se obligabunt sub juramento et pœna unius milionis ducatorum per Instrumentum publicum.

16. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod dicti Serenissimus dominus Rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie similiter dabunt infra dictum terminum mensium duodecim infrascriptos magnates fidejussores et principales promissores, videlicet, Antonium de Sancto Severino, Principem Salerni, dicti regni Sicilie admiralem, et Hieronymum de Sancto Severino Principem Bisigniani, et Franciscum de Bancio Ducem Andrie, et Ursum de Ursinis Ducem Ascoli, et Antonium de Aragonia de Picolominibus Ducem Amalfie, dicti Regni Sicilie magistrum justiciarium, et honoratum Gaetanum de Aragoniâ comitem, fundorum ejusdem Regni prothonotarium, et Diomedem Carrafa Comitem Magdalonî; qui omnes promittent, et jurabunt, et facient homagium juxta morem Hyspanie, se curaturos et facturos omnibus modis et cum effectu, quod dicti Illustrissimi domini Princeps et Principissa, adveniente legitima etate, præfatum matrimonium contrahent per verba de presenti et illud consummabunt per carnis copulam, et omnia alia quæ dictæ civitates et terræ demaniales, et aliæ persone representantes dictum Regnum Sicilie, promittere debent, de quo fiat Instrumentum publicum.

17. Item promittit dictus orator et procurator, quo supra nomine, quod prefati Serenissimus dominus rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie dabunt et realiter, et exsolvent prefatis Ser^{is} dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis vel eorum sufficienti procuratori, pro subvencione ipsorum, florenos auri Aragonum justi et recti ponderis ducentum mille modo infrascripto: videlicet, sexaginta Mille florenos infra dies sexaginta quatuor, computandos a die datorum præsentium in antea, et triginta quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni Millesimi cccc septuagesimi *Septimi*, et triginta et quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni millesimi quadringentesimi septuagesimi *octavi*, et triginta quinque mille florenos per totum mensem Maii anni Millesimi quadringentesimi septuagesimi *noni*, et restantes triginta quinque mille florenos ad complementum dictorum ducentum mille florenorum per totum mensem Maii anni Mill^{mi} cccc octuagesimi. Que quidem soluciones fieri habeant per dictos Seren^m dominum Regem Sicilie, et Illustrissimum dominum Ducem Calabriæ, in civitatibus Cesar Augustæ, Valencie et Barchinone vel ipsarum alterâ, de quo fiat Instrumentum publicum cum juramento, et penis ac obligacionibus, necessariis et oportunis.

18. Insuper fuit inter dictos Ser^{mos} dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis, et prefatum Antonium de Alexandro oratorem et procuratorem, nomine quo supra, pactatum, actum, et concordatum, quòd, si dictum matrimonium inter prefatos dominos Principem et Principissam non fuerit per verba de presenti contractum, et per carnis copulam consummatum, adveniente legitima ætate, culpâ prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine, quod eo casu teneantur restituere prefato Ser^{mo} domino Regni Sicilie omne id quod recipisse reperientur de dictâ summâ florenorum ducentum Mille, rato semper manente pacto. Si vero, culpâ dicti Serenissimi domini Regis Sicilie, vel Illustrissimi Domⁱ Ducis Calabrie, illud acciderit, perdant predictos ducentum mille florenos, si jam fuerint soluti, vel quicquid ex iis solutum fuerit eo tempore, rato semper manente pacto. Sin autem dictum matrimonium cessaverit per obitum prefati Ill^{mi} domini Principis Capue, quod Deus avertat, dictum matrimonium perfici et consumari debeat cum alio filio dicti Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie qui locum primogeniti obtinebit, cum omnibus obligacionibus, pactis, et condicionibus supra dictis, quæ in prædicto matrimonio repetita censeantur. Eodem modo, si cessaverit per obitum dicte illustrissime domine Principisse, quod Deus avertat, debeat perfici et consumari dictum matrimonium per dictum illustrissimum dominum Principem Capue cum aliâ filiâ, si qua tunc reperiretur ex eisdem dominis Rege et Reginâ fore suscepta: Et si plures essent, cum majore natu, cum pactis omnibus, obligacionibus, et condicionibus supradictis, que similiter in dicto matrimonio repetita censeantur. Sed si in casu predicto non posset perveniri ad dictum secundum matrimonium propter defectum alterius filii dicti Ill^{mi} domini Ducis Calabrie, vel alterius filie prefatorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, inter quos foret dictum matrimonium contrahendum, eo casu non teneant prefati Ser^{us} dominus Rex Sicilie et Ill^{mus} dominus Dux Calabrie solvere dictis Ser^{mis} dominis Regi et Regine Castelle et Legionis residuum dictorum ducentum mille florenorum quod solvendum veniret a dicto tempore ultra, neque teneantur dicti Seren^{mi} domini Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis restituere illud quod de dictâ quantitate ducentorum mille florenorum reperirentur recepisse. Et, factâ assercione predictâ, cognoscentes partes ipsæ, quod utile, quod expediens, quodque fructuosum sit jam dictum matrimonium, tam ipsis omnibus prefatis Serenissimis dominis Regibus, quam rei publicæ Regnorum ipsorum dominorum, subditis, vassallis, et habitatoribus ipsorum Regnorum, et propterea intendentes matrimonium ipsum juxta tenorem et continenciam dictorum capitulorum omnino ad effectum perducere, exsequi, et complere. Iccirco partes ipse pariter, nominibus quibus supra, non vi, dolo, aut metu coacte, suasionibus inducte, seu aliter circumvente, sed earum et cujuslibet ipsarum merâ, purâ, gratuitâ, et spontaneâ voluntate, preinserta capitula cum omnibus et singulis contentis in eis laudaverunt, approbauerunt, et acceptauerunt, publicari fecerunt, ac firmaverunt, et subscripserunt propriis manibus, et eorum sigillis muniri fecerunt; ipsaque capitula, convenciones, et pacta, et omnia et singula in eis contenta præfatæ ambæ partes ad invicem, videlicet una alteri et altera alteri recipienti, stipulanti, nominibus quibus supra, promiserunt et sponderunt prout ad quamlibet ipsarum partium pertinet, semper et omni futuro tempore habere et tenere grata, rata et firma, et illa et ipsorum quodlibet attendere et observare, et ad plenum tenaciter et inviolabiliter adimplere, omni fraude, excusacione, cavillatione, et exceptione remotis, et in nullo contrahire, dicere, facere, opponere, vel venire, per se vel alios eorum nomine, palam, publicè, vel occultè, directè vel indirectè, seu alio quesito colore, neque alteri contradicere,

opponere, vel venire volenti consentire, assistere, vel favere, dolumque malum in dictis capitulis et presenti contractu abesse et abfuturum esse ad poenam et sub poenâ ducatorum auri mille milium, seu unius milionis a parte contra-faciente in casu contravencionis exhigendâ, et parti alteri applicandâ et persolvendâ. Que quidem poena tociens comittatur, petatur, et exhigatur cum effectu, quotiens dictis capitulis, pactis et convencionibus, vel ipsorum alteri fuerit contraventum; etiam si plus quam bis aut ter contraventum fuerit, ipsaque pena commissa et incursa, soluta vel non soluta, seu graciosè remissa, presens in nichillominus instrumentum, cum omnibus et singulis contentis in eo, in suo semper robore et efficacîâ perseveret, rato semper manente pacto, et cum integrâ refeccione omnium et singulorum dampnorum interesse et expensarum litis et extra litem, in judicio sive extra judicium, que incurrerentur propterea quoquomodo: de quibus quidem expensis dampnis et interesse estari debeat et credi simplici verbo et assercioni alterius partis, nullâ aliâ probacione quæsità, quia sic inter partes ipsas actum exstitit, et expressè conventum; quam quidem penam, dampna, interesse, et expensas, partes ipsæ quibus supra nominibus promiserunt, et se constituerunt soluere Rome, Florencie, Avinione, Brugis, et ubique locorum. Et pro predictis omnibus et eorum singulis tenendis, adimplendis, et inviolabiter observandis, et ut contra non fiat, præfate ambe partes adjuncte, una alteri et altera alteri præsentî, recipienti, et stipulanti, quibus supra nominibus, obligaverunt et hypothecaverunt seipsas earumque heredes et successores et bona infra-scripto modo: videlicet dicti Serenissimi Rex et Regina Castelle et Legionis seipsos et eorum quemlibet, ac eorum heredes et successores, et eorum ac cujuslibet ipsorum et suorum prefatorum heredum et successorum bona omnia mobilia et immobilia, presentia et futura, estatus, Regna et Dominia, et jura, et acciones, debita et nomina debitorum, et alia quecumque bona cujuscunque vocabuli appellatione distincta, ea etiam que sub generali non veniunt hypothecâ, et que sine speciali pacto obligari non possunt usque ad legem et præter legem: et prefatus Antonius procurator obligavit dictos Serenissimum dominum Ferdinandum Regem Sicilie et Hierusalem, et Ill^m Dominum Ducem Calabrie, suos principales, et eorum quemlibet, eorumque heredes et successores, et eorum ac cujuslibet ipsorum et suorum prefatorum heredum et successorum bona omnia, mobilia et immobilia, præsentia et futura, status, regna, et dominia et jura, et acciones, debita, et nomina debitorum, et alia quæcunque cujuscunque vocabuli appellatione distincta, eciamque sub generali non veniunt hypothecâ, et que sine speciali pacto obligari non possunt usque ad legem et præter legem. Et voluerunt partes ipsæ quod in casu contravencionis predictorum, vel alicujus ex eis, liceat et licitum sit parti alteri observanti et prædicta adimplenti, absque jussu judicis, decreto pretoris, vel alterius officialis ordine judiciario, seu aliâ solempnitate, solum presentis instrumenti vigore, auctoritate propriâ, manu armatâ, et, si expedierit, militari capere et apprehendere tot et tanta bona alterius partis contrafacientis que ascendant ad prædictam penam, dampna, interesse, et expensas, ipsaque bona sic capta vendere, alienare, distraere, vel insolutum retinere, prout melius elegerit et sibi placuerit, quousque sit ei de penâ et interesse prædictis integrè et plenariè satisfactum, rato semper manente pacto predicto. Quæ quidem bona, ut prædicitur, obligata et ypothecata exnunc constituerunt partes ipse et ipsarum quelibet alterius nomine tenere et precario possidere, quod precarium in casu contravencionis prædict' liceat et licitum sit parti observanti auctoritate propriâ revocare, absque aliâ solempnitate quâcunque, lege, situ, usu, consuetudine, vel observantiâ aliquâ contrariâ non obstante. Renunciaveruntque præfate partes, nominibus quibus supra, super omnibus predictis, et infra dicendis, et eorum singulis, de certâ

earum scienciâ, sponte et voluntariè, excepcione vis, metûs, doli mali, simulationis, et fraudis rei hujus non geste aut aliter geste, quam supra scriptum, conventum ne sit condicioni indebiti ob causam et sine causâ actioni et exceptioni in factum beneficio Velleyani, beneficio restitutionis in integrum, et cuicunque alteri beneficio sexûs vel minoris etatis; legi dicenti factum alienum promitti non posse; legi dicenti maritum et uxorem eodem instrumento obligari non posse; legi dicenti pœnam ultra certum modum, sive summam in contractu apponi non posse, neque appositam exhigi, vel penam ultra interesse appositam exhigi non posse; legi dicenti probacionis modum non esse angustandum, aut probacionis necessitatem in contractu remitti non posse: legi dicenti bona obligata auctoritate propriâ capi non posse armatâ manu, et cum armorum violenciâ, captaque sine certâ solemnitate distrahi seu vendi non posse; legi dicenti generalem renunciationem in contractibus non valere, et juri quo cavetur predictis legibus, exceptionibus, seu auxiliis aut eorum alteri renunciari non posse: Et generaliter, et in summâ omnibus et quibuscunque legibus, juribus, constitutionibus, auxiliis, et beneficiis ordinariis et extraordinariis, quibus de jure vel de facto, tam de jure communi, canonico, vel civili, quam ex more, statuto, aut consuetudine patrie, vel alio quovis modo contra predicta omnia, vel eorum aliquod jurari possent, vel illis quomodolibet contrahere. Certiorate prius partes ipsas et ad plenum informate ut dixerunt, et proprio juramento firmaverunt de predictis omnibus et singulis exceptionibus, auxiliis et beneficiis, et legibus aliis supradictis ac effectibus eorumdem. Et insuper ad majorem firmitatem omnium et singulorum sic ut supra dicitur promissorum, conventorum, et renunciatorum, et ut inviolabiliter observentur, et in nullo penitus contra fiat, prefatâ partes, nominibus quibus supra, ad signum sanctæ crucis, et ad sancta Dei quatuor evangelia eorum et cujuslibet ipsorum manibus corporaliter tacta, dicti scilicet Serenissimi domini Rex et Regina Castille et Legionis in eorum animas, et prefatus Antonius in animas dictorum duorum Regis Siciliæ et Ducis Calabriæ, suorum principalium constituencium, juraverunt predicta omnia et singula, prout supra, acta, promissa, et conventa fuerunt vera esse, eaque omnia semper et omnia futuro tempore attendere, observare, et firmiter adimplere, et in nullo contrafacere vel venire, directè vel indirectè, aut aliquo quesito ingenio, seu colore. Quinymo nec absolutionem aut relaxationem a presenti juramento adversus premissa vel ipsorum aliquod ullo unquam tempore petere seu impetrare, vel aliter contravenire de facto vel de jure, in quocunque judicio seu tribunali ecclesiastico seu seculari. Acto etiam expressè inter partes ipsas, quod pœna perjurii per pœnam pecuniariam vel ejus exactionem non tollatur, nec e contra, sed quod utraque petatur et exhigatur cum effectû, quando et quotiens fuerit contraventum. Volueruntque partes ipsæ, et expressè convenerunt atque consenserunt seipsas, nominibus quibus supra, et ipsarum quamlibet quæ contraveniret premissis vel alteri premissorum in casu ipsius contravencionis haberi pro judicatis et judicialiter condempnatis, et ex nunc pro tunc in locum condempnatorum et judicialiter indicatorum seipsas quibus supra nominibus posuerunt: Submittentes seipsas et ipsarum quamlibet nominibus quibus supra, pro integrâ observatione omnium predictorum, omnibus censuris Camere Apostolice in formâ ipsius camere consuetâ. Et de premissis omnibus, sicut predictur, gestis, actis, conventis, promissis, obligatis, renunciatis, et juratis, voluerunt partes ipse fieri unum, duo, vel plura publica instrumenta pro ipsarum partium et cujuslibet earum cautelâ, quandocunque et quoscienscunque fuerit oportunum. Tenor vero dictorum mandatorum supradicti domini Antonii oratoris et procuratoris talis est.

FERDINANDUS, Dei gratiâ rex Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie—Cum superioribus ac proximis

diebus ad magis arcendam consanguinitatem quæ Serenissimos ac Excellentissimos principes et dominos Ferdinandum Dei gratiâ Regem Castelle et Legionis et cæt. ac dominam Ysabellam Reginam Castelle et Legionis, ejus consortem, et nos mutuo devincit, inter easdem Majestates Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine et nos tractatum et praticatum esset de matrimonio contrahendo inter Illustrissimum don Ferdinandum de Aragoniâ Principem Capue nepotem, nostrum carissimum primogenitum legitimum et naturalem Illustrissimi don Alfonsi de Aragonia Ducis Calabrie nri primogeniti et vicarii generales *ex unâ parte*, et Illustrissimam dominam Helisabeth Principissam Castelle et Legionis primogenitam, legitimam et naturalem dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis *ex parte alterâ*, animo meditati sumus matrimonium ipsum et rebus ipsorum Serenissimorum Dominorum Regis et Regine et nostris magnoperè conducere tum ad augendam corroborandamque mutuam benevolentiam et amorem, tum ut, hoc addito vinculo, non uno sed pluribus nexibus consanguinitas nostra mutuusque amor ac fraternalis caritas et dileccio magis ac magis confirmetur corroboreturque, iccirco intendentes dictum matrimonium, interveniente dispensatione Sanctissimi domini viri Papæ propter vinculum consanguinitatis inter nos existens quantocunque fieri possit, ad effectum perducere vos spectabilem et magnificos viros Galcerandum de requesens Comitem Triventi et Avellini nostre classis generalem capitaneum, Antonium de Alexandro utriusque juris doctorem, et Antonium de Tricio secretarium, milites, consiliarios et oratores nostros fideles, dilectos ad tractandum, praticandum, firmandum, et concludendum nostro nomine, ac etiam ipsius Illustrissimi principis Capue nomine contrahendum dictum matrimonium, oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros ordinandos duximus: itaque de vestri virtute, probitate, animi integritate, prudenciâ, et fide plenè et ab experto confisi vos præfatos Galcerandum comitem absentem tamquam presentem, Antonium de Alexandro presentem, et Antonium de Tricio absentem, et quemlibet vestrûm insolidum nostros oratores, procuratores, et nuncios speciales cum omni quâ convenit plenitudine potestatis, tenore presentium de certâ nostrâ scientiâ facimus, creamus, constituimus, et ordinamus ad praticandum, tractandum, firmandum, et concludendum nostro nomine cum prenomatis Serenissimis dominis Rege et Reginâ Castelle et Legionis consortibus, aut quocunque alio per ipsos Serenissimos dominos Regem et Reginam deputando ad contrahendum sponsalia et matrimonium nomine dicti Illustrissimi Principis Capue inter eum *ex unâ parte*, et Illustrissimam dominam Helisabet principissam Castelle et Legionis ipsorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine primogenitam, legitimam, et naturalem *ex parte alterâ*, cum illis dotibus, donatione propter nuptias, promissionibus subsidiorum, et aliis pactis et capitulis cum quibus nobis melius videbitur expedere; ac de et super matrimonio predicto omni futuro tempore perficiendo, complendo, et exequendo, ac dotibus et omnibus aliis de quibus cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Reginâ concordabitis nostro nomine et ipsius Illustrissimi Principis Capue firmandum, pacta capitula et convenciones cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Reginâ per Instrumenta publica omni quâ decet solemnitate roborate, ac etiam ad contrahendum ipsius Ill^{mi} Principis Capue nomine cum eâdem Ill^{ma} dominâ Helisabet Principissâ Castelle et Legionis, filiâ primogenitâ dictorum Seren^{ma} dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, deputandi vel presencialiter, vel per medium alterius per eosdem Seren^{os} dominos Regem et Reginam Castelle et Legionis deputandi ipsius Ill^{me} domine Principissæ nomine, sponsalia per verba de futuro, seu matrimonium per verba mutuuum consensum exprimentia de

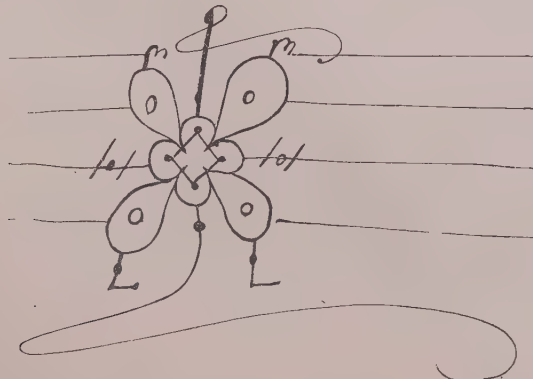
presenti inter præfatum Illustrissimum Principem Capue et ipsam Ill^{am} dominam Principissam Castelle, ipsamque Ill^{am} dominam Helisabeth Principissam Castelle eorundem Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis primogenitam nomine ipsius Ill^{mi} don Ferdinandi Principis Capue in ejus carissimam sponsam seu uxorem suscipiendum et desponsandum, prout melius cum eisdem Serenissimis dominis Rege et Reginâ concordabit et concludetis cum omnibus solemnitatibus et ceremoniis quæ in sponsalibus et matrimoniis de presenti, de jure et consuetudine requiruntur juxta usum et morem Sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ in similibus observatum: ac etiam de prædictis convencionibus, pactis, et capitulis ac sponsalibus et matrimonio recipiendum, faciendum, ac recipi et fieri rogandum cautelas et Instrumenta publica, necessaria et oportuna, et pro eorum firmitate et observacione obligandum per solemnem stipulationem nos, heredes et successores nostros, et bona nostra omnia, penas et juramenta apponendum in animam nostram, et dicti Illustrissimi Principis Capue, et omnes alias clausulas et renunciaciones in similibus necessarias et oportunas. Et generaliter omnia alia in præmissis et circa præmissa cum dependentibus, emergentibus et annexis faciendum, que nosmet ipsi et idem illustrissimus Princeps Capue, si coram et præsentibus adessemus, facere valeremus, etiam si talia essent quæ mandatum exigent magis speciale et specialissimum et magis individuò, concedentes vobis et cuilibet vestrûm in solidum in præmissis, et circa præmissa, et quodlibet predictorum cum dependentibus, emergentibus, annexis et connexis iisdem speciale, specialissimum, ac generale mandatum cum plenâ et liberâ potestate. Promittentes sub ypothecâ et obligacione omnium bonorum nostrorum ac jurantes ad Dominum Deum, ejusque sancta quatuor Evangelia Sancta, omni futuro tempore habere et adimplere, ac dictum Illustrissimum don Ferdinandum Principem Capue nepotem nostrum habiturum et adimpleturum omne totum et quicquid in præmissis vel aliquo predictorum per vos prædictos oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros, nomine nostro, actum, firmatum, procuratum, conclusum, obligatum, promissum, juratum, et renunciatum, vel aliter gestum extiterit quoquomodo, et nullo unquam tempore contravenire de jure vel de facto, directè vel indirectè, aut alio quovis quæsito colore. Promittentes etiam et fidejubentes de rato ratique habicione pro nobis, promittentes insuper tenore præsentium de dictâ scientiâ certa nra, et jurantes ad sancta Dei quatuor Evangelia vos prefatos oratores, procuratores et nuncios nostros aut vestrum aliquem non revocare, clam vel palam, publicè vel occultè, aut aliter quovis modo, donec et quousque præmissa omnia ut supra nobis commissa per vos aut vestrûm aliquem fuerint expedita et executioni mandata.

In cujus rei testimonium presentes fieri fecimus magno majestatis nostre Sigillo pendente munitas, datas in Castello Novo Neapolis die vicesimo octavo mensis Junii anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo Septuagesimo Quinto, Regnorum nostrorum anno decimo octavo Rex Ferdinandus.

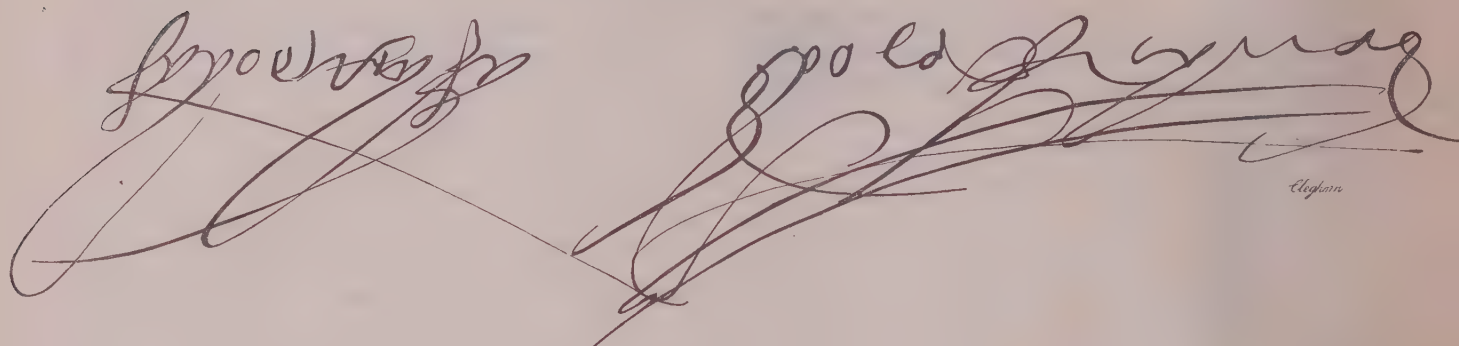
Nos, prænominatus don Alfonsus de Aragoniâ, prænominati Serenissimi et excellentissimi Principis et domini dñi Ferdinandi Dei gratiâ Regis Sicilie, Hierusalem, et Hungarie primogenitus et vicarius generalis, ac prænominati Ill^{mi} don Ferdinandi de Aragoniâ, Principis Capue, nostri primogeniti pater, præmissa omnia et singula contenta et declarata in præsentibus procuracione, ex certâ nostrâ scientiâ, laudamus, acceptamus, approbamus, ratificamus, et confirmamus, Promittentes in nostrâ bonâ fide, ac jurantes ad dominum Deum et ejus sancta quatuor evangelia, nos et dictum

Illustrissimum Principem Capue nostrum primogenitum habituros omni futuro tempore ratum, gratum, validum, et firmum, quicquid in premissis, et circa ea, cum dependentibus, emergentibus, annexis, et connexis eisdem per dictos oratores et procuratores aut aliquem ex eis actum, factum, promissum, firmatum, obligatum, et conclusum fuerit; et specialiter dictum matrimonium si concludetur, cum quibusvis promissionibus, et obligacionibus subsidiorum, et aliorum quorumcumque firmandis per dictos oratores et procuratores, quos per presentes scienter procuratores et nuncios nostros ad predicta facimus, constituimus, et ordinamus, ita ut ea, omnia et singula, per eos in premissis et circa ea facienda et concludenda, ita valida et firma sint, ac si nosmet ipsi et idem Illustrissimus Princeps Capue presentes adessemus, et illa nos principaliter faceremus et concluderemus. In quorum fidem hanc nostram subscriptionem fieri propriâ manu signatam, et nostrum in presentibus sigillum apponi fecimus, datis loco, die, et anno prædictis, Alfonsus dominus Rex mandavit mihi Antonello de Petrucciis. Unde ad futuram memoriam de premissis sumptum est hoc præsens publicum instrumentum. Quod est actum loco, die, mense, et anno predictis, presentibus testibus, Reverendissimo in Christo patre et dño domino Petro Cardinali Hyspanie, Archiepiscopo Hyspalensi, et Rev^{do} patre domino Nicolao Franco apostolicæ sedis prothonotario legato, necnon spectabilibus Reverendis magnificis et nobilibus, dño Petro Ferdinando de Velasco, comite de Haro comestabulo Castelle; dño Roderico Alfonso Pimentel, comite Benaventi, dño Petro Manrique comite de trivinyo, dño fratre Alfonso de Burgos, sacræ theologiæ magistro, capellano majori dicte Serenissime dominæ Reginæ Castelle et Legionis; dño Gomecio Manrique; dño Andreâ de Cabrerâ; dño Raymundo despes majordomo dicti Serenissimi domini regis Castelle et Legionis; domino Gundisalvo Chacon majordomo dictæ Ser^{me} domine Regine, et computatore majore; domino Alfonso de Baraxas decano Burgeñ, sedis Apostolicæ prothonat^{us}; Joanne Naclerii de Neapoli; Roderico Maldonado utriusque juris doctore; et Garsia Martinez de Lerma alcaldo Burgeñ; consiliariis dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis, ad præmissa vocatis, rogatis specialiter et assumptis.

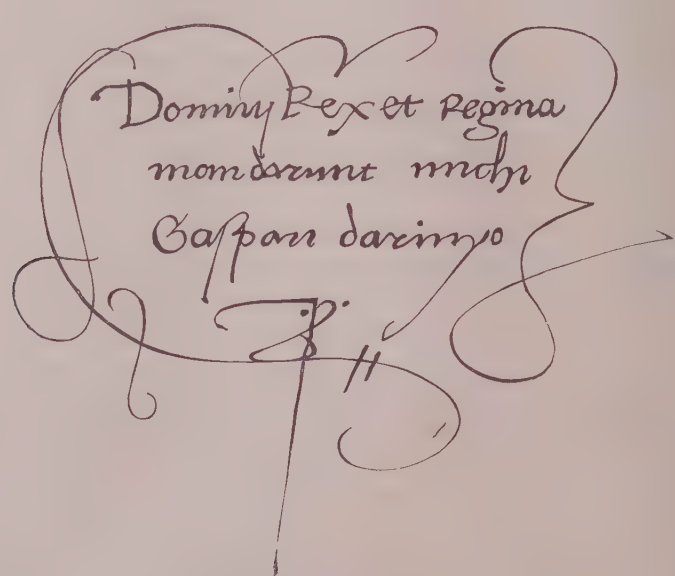
Et ego Gaspar Darinyo dictorum Serenissimorum dominorum Regis et Regine Castelle et Legionis Consiliarius et Secretarius, ac Notarius publicus, per universam eorum dicionem præmissis omnibus, dum sic agerentur et fierent, una cum prenominatis testibus interfui: eaque aliis occupatus negociis in publicam formam redigens scribi, feci, et clausi cum rasis et correctis diversis in locis ubi legitur, Infrascripta: Duce: Vigente: capitula: dominos principem et: Illustrissima: futuro: dominos principem: sapientis: Regina: prefatorum heredum et: don: cum: depen: Et, ut premissis fides plenaria adhibeatur, hic propriâ manu me subscripsi, et meum solitum artis Notarie apposui signum in fidem et testimonium præmissorum, quod est tale:



Nos Ferdinandus et Elisabet, dei graciâ Rex et Regina Castelle, Legionis, Siciliæ, Toleti, Portugalæ, Galliciæ, Hyspalis, Cordubæ, Murcia, Jaennis, Algarve, Algezire, de Gibraltar, et provinciæ de Guipuzco: Principes Aragonum, ac domini de Viscaya et de Molina:—viso præ-senti Instrumento, tenore præsentium omnia et singula contenta in eo fatemur, acceptamus, laudamus, et approbamus, ac eidem sigillum nostrum plumbeum apponi jussimus impendenti datus in oppido Valli Toleti die vicesimo primo mensis Maii, anno a nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi milesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto.



Alghani



Dominus Rex et Regina
monstrant michi
Gaspard d'Arinno

The absolute silence on the part of the Spanish historians in regard to any intended union between the kingdoms of Spain and Naples, in accordance with the conditions of the preceding contract, puts it out of my power to assign the

reasons for the non-fulfilment of it. In the absence of any positive intelligence on the subject, it may not, therefore, be useless to look to the peculiar circumstances of Spain in search of motives which might be supposed to give countenance to, and render advisable the adoption of, another marriage; and such, it is presumed, may be found to have existed in favour of Portugal, by a reference to the condition of state affairs at a time subsequently to having entered upon this contract. To comprehend this clearly, it will be necessary shortly to revert to the period when Isabella, the mother of the affianced princess, ascended the throne of Castille.

Isabella, as already stated, was the issue of Don John II. by his second wife Isabella, granddaughter of John I. of Portugal. By this marriage he had also a son Alphonso. By his previous marriage with Maria of Arragon, he had issue Henry, who upon the death of John II. succeeded as Henry IV. to the throne. The reign of John II. was highly distinguished in letters, though the profession of literature was then held in little estimation by the higher orders of the nation; it was even odious in politics. The monarch was addicted to pleasure, the affairs of the kingdom were neglected, and his son Henry was adverse to the measures adopted by his father. John II. died July 21, 1454, after a reign for the long period of forty-eight years. Henry IV. ascended the throne with the enthusiasm of his subjects, and, in contradistinction to the habits of his father, was styled "The Liberal." His liberality amounted to prodigality, and he and the kingdom were thrown into difficulties, the treasury being greatly impoverished. The reign of Henry was altogether a most unhappy one. He first married Blanche of Arragon; but repudiated her after an union of twelve years, on grounds which have been justly described as "ridiculous and humiliating"—*por impotencia respectiva*, owing to some malign influence! In 1455, he espoused Joanna, the sister of Alphonso V. of Portugal. Her conduct was remarkable for its levity, and from the scandal to which it gave rise much doubt was expressed in relation to the legitimacy of her issue in the person of a daughter who after herself was named Joanna, well known in history as Beltraneja, her real father being generally esteemed to have been Beltran de la Cueva, a royal favourite. The oath of fealty was however taken towards her, and she was recognised as the presumptive heir to the throne. The act, it must be admitted, was regarded as a compulsory one, and a Bill of Grievances was presented to the King, which, among other articles, required that his half-brother Alphonso might be delivered into their hands, and be acknowledged as his successor. Henry was necessitated to yield, and he complied, but with a condition stipulating for a subsequent union of Alphonso

with Joanna. Alphonso was then recognised as the lawful heir to the crown. Henry IV. was afterwards induced to withdraw from his engagement, and this breach of faith, combined with the general tenor of his conduct in other important matters, gave rise to his deposition, the ceremony attending which has been thus described:—

“ In an open plain, not far from the city of Avila, a scaffold was erected of sufficient elevation to be easily seen from the surrounding country. A chair of state was placed on it; and in this was seated an effigy of King Henry, clad in sable robes, and adorned with all the insignia of royalty, a sword at its side, a sceptre in the hand, and a crown upon its head. A manifesto was then read, exhibiting in glowing colours the tyrannical conduct of the King, and the consequent determination to depose him; and vindicating the proceeding by several precedents drawn from the history of the monarchy. The Archbishop of Toledo, then ascending the platform, tore the diadem from the head of the statue; the Marquis of Villana removed the sceptre; the Count of Placentia the sword; the Grand-Master of Alcantara, and the Counts of Binavente and Paredes, the rest of the royal insignia; when the image, thus despoiled of its honours, was rolled into the dust, amid the mingled groans and clamours of the spectators.”^a

The Prince Alphonso, only eleven years of age, was then seated on the throne, and acknowledged as sovereign by the grandees of Spain.

Isabella had, upon her father's death, retired with her mother to Arevalo, and there lived in seclusion, engaging herself in the cultivation of the natural graces of her mind and person, both of which have been the subjects of much eulogy. She was remarkable for her piety and good conduct; and in subsequent years her reverence for religion was strikingly exhibited.

Upon the birth of Joanna, the daughter of Henry IV. by Joanna, sister of Alphonso of Portugal, Isabella and her brother Alphonso had been removed by Henry to the Royal Palace, where her conduct was in no respect altered, and she maintained her good character. Many suitors became applicants for her hand, she being so closely allied to the crown. Prescott says (i. 190), that she was first solicited for Ferdinand, to whom she was afterwards united; then for his elder brother Carlos; and, when thirteen years of age, for Alphonso of Portugal. By Henry she was also proposed for the Grand-Master of Calatrava; but she resisted all efforts made to promote her union with one so unsuitable by disparity of years and other respects, and at this early age she had the courage to apply for the protec-

^a Prescott, vol. i. p. 210, from Palencia MS. part i. c. lxii.; Castillo, c. lxviii., lxix., lxxiv.

tion of the nobles of the realm, without whose consent the Infantas of Castille could not be disposed of in marriage.^a The death of the Grand-Master put an end to the matter. Anarchy at this time reigned throughout the kingdom, and the consequences were frightful. The Prince Alphonso, raised to the throne, was on the 5th of July, 1468, found dead in his bed, not without suspicion of his having been poisoned, though by some his death has been ascribed to the plague, which at that time prevailed. He had only reached the age of fifteen years. Various have been the opinions entertained in regard to the reign of Alphonso; some esteeming it as of legal authority, whilst others have disputed it from its never having been ratified by any act of Cortes. Upon the death of Alphonso, all eyes were turned towards Isabella, who had retired to a monastery at Avila, where the Archbishop of Toledo waited on her, and endeavoured to prevail upon her to permit herself to be proclaimed Queen of Castille. She resisted this whilst her half-brother Henry survived, she regarding him as the rightful sovereign of the kingdom. She had the magnanimity even to propose measures for a reconciliation, and offered her own personal interposition. A negotiation was accordingly commenced, and the following terms ultimately agreed to:—"That a general amnesty should be granted by the King for all past offences; that the Queen, whose dissolute conduct was admitted to be matter of notoriety, should be divorced from her husband and sent back to Portugal; that Isabella should have the principality of Asturias (the usual demesne of the heir-apparent to the crown) settled on her, together with a specific provision suitable to her rank; that she should be immediately recognised heir to the crowns of Castille and Leon; and that a Cortes should be convoked within forty days for the purpose of bestowing a legal sanction on her title, as well as of reforming the various abuses of government." Finally, that Isabella should not be constrained to marry in opposition to her own consent, nor should she do so without the consent of her brother."^b

These conditions were ratified by Henry and Isabella, September 9, 1468, and the attendant nobles paid their allegiance to the Princess. The Cortes of Ocaña subsequently concurred in the arrangement, and thus Isabella became the lawful successor to the throne of Castille and Leon.^c Notwithstanding this seeming agreement, Henry entertained other views in regard to his daughter Joanna, whom he cherished as his own legitimate child.

^a See Aleson, Zurita, Castillo, and other authorities.

^b This compact is given by Marina, Teoria, Appendix No. XI. and quoted by Prescott.

^c See Palencia MS. and other authorities quoted by Prescott, i. 202, note.

Isabella was now much pressed by suitors, among whom have been mentioned a brother of Edward IV. of England, probably Richard Duke of Gloucester, and also the Duc de Guienne, brother of Louis XI., the presumptive heir to the throne of France. Isabella, however, looked towards her kinsman Ferdinand of Arragon; and the advantages arising from uniting Castille and Arragon are too evident to be disputed. This union, notwithstanding various intrigues which were put on foot to prevent it, was ultimately carried into effect; and the marriage articles were signed and sworn to by Ferdinand at Cervera on the 7th of January, 1469. The conditions thus entered into are given by Prescott^a in the following terms:—"He promised faithfully to respect the laws and usages of Castille; to fix his residence in that kingdom, and not to quit it without the consent of Isabella; to alienate no property belonging to the crown, to prefer no foreigners to municipal offices, and indeed to make no appointments of a civil or military nature without her consent and approbation; and to resign to her exclusively the right of nomination to ecclesiastical benefices. All ordinances of a public nature were to be subscribed equally by both. Ferdinand engaged, moreover, to prosecute the war against the Moors; to respect King Henry; to suffer every noble to remain unmolested in the possession of his dignities, and not to demand restitution of the domains formerly owned by his father in Castille. The treaty concluded with the specification of a magnificent dower to be settled on Isabella, far more ample than that usually assigned to the Queens of Arragon."

"The circumspection of the framers of this instrument," Mr. Prescott has remarked,^b "is apparent from the various provisions introduced into it, solely to calm the apprehensions and to conciliate the good will of the party disaffected to the marriage, while the national partialities of the Castilians were gratified by the jealous restrictions imposed on Ferdinand, and the relinquishment of all the essential rights of sovereignty to his consort."

Notwithstanding matters had proceeded thus far, schemes were yet entered into to defeat the marriage. Attempts, sanctioned by her brother Henry, were made to get possession of her person, and in this exigency she displayed uncommon bravery and fortitude. It was only by the appearance of an armed body of considerable force that she obtained her release from her guardian, the Bishop of Burgos, and was escorted in a sort of military triumph to Valladolid, where she was received by the citizens with unbounded enthusiasm, and secured their

^a Vol. i. p. 209.

^b Vol. i. p. 210.

protection. In the meantime Ferdinand, attended by half a dozen followers only, disguised as merchants, set out for Castille by route from Saragossa. They travelled chiefly by night, Ferdinand acting as servant to the party, and, after various curious incidents, including the loss of the purse containing the money for the expenses of the journey, reached their destination in safety. At Dueñas, in the kingdom of Leon, he received the homage due to his rank from the Castilian nobles and chevaliers. No sooner was the arrival of Ferdinand accomplished, than Isabella wrote to her brother Henry, communicating to him the particulars of her intended marriage. Ferdinand reached Valladolid on the 15th of October, where he was received by the Archbishop of Toledo and conducted to the presence of his bride. He was now in his eighteenth year, one year younger than Isabella. At this meeting the preliminaries of the marriage were adjusted; and it is remarkable that the poverty of the contracting parties was so great that they were not possessed of sufficient funds to defray the expenses of the bridal ceremony.^a The marriage was, however, celebrated October 19, 1469, in the palace of Juan de Vivero, the temporary residence of Isabella, afterwards appropriated to the Chancery of Valladolid. At the time of the marriage, a papal bull was produced by the Archbishop relieving the parties from the impediment incurred by their falling within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. This document was subsequently proved to be spurious, and ascertained to have been the device of the old King of Arragon, Ferdinand's father; Ferdinand and the Archbishop being deterred from then making application to Rome, where the interests of Henry were strongly espoused. Isabella they well knew would not have consented to an union involving ecclesiastical censure, and this deception was therefore resorted to. A genuine bull of dispensation was, however, afterwards obtained from Sixtus IV., but the discovery of the imposition by Isabella occasioned her no little degree of distress and mortification. The nuptials were (according to Prescott, who quotes from Galindez de Carbajal MS. anno 1469; Palencia MS. part. II. c. xvi.; Zurita, lib. xviii. c. xxvi.; and also from an official record in the *Memorias de la Acad.* tom. vi. ap. iv.: see also the *Illustr.* in the same volume, No. II.) solemnized in the presence of an immense multitude, as before stated. (See p. 58, *ante*.)

Isabella's possession of the throne of Castille and Leon was maintained with much difficulty. Her half-brother, the deposed King Henry IV., opposed to her claims those of his daughter, her niece Joanna, whom he affianced (then in her

^a See Mariana, tom. ii. p. 465.

ninth year) to the Count of Boulogne, the representative of the Duc de Guienne. The pretensions on the part of Joanna were supported by a fraction of the royal party under Henry IV., embracing the powerful family of Mendoza, and also the Marquis de Villena; and a placard protesting against the usurpation of Isabella was nailed to her mansion at night. Pretensions were also put forth for Alphonso King of Portugal, and a scheme suggested for marrying Joanna to the son and heir of the Portuguese monarch. To promote these measures, Alphonso of Portugal was invited to renew his addresses to Isabella, and a pompous embassy, with the Archbishop of Lisbon at its head, arrived at Ocaña, in 1469, to urge the marriage. It was, however, unavailing.

The disputed succession entailed great miseries on the kingdom, and Ferdinand and Isabella's resources were of very inadequate extent. The Archbishop of Toledo remained firm to her cause. In this state of things Ferdinand was summoned by his father into Arragon to act against Louis XI., which campaign terminated by a treaty between John of Arragon and Louis in September 1473. The Duc de Guienne, to whom Joanna had been affianced, died in France at this time, and it is conjectured to have been occasioned by the hands of his brother Louis XI. The cause of Isabella gained strength in Castille by her excellent and prudent conduct, and she acquired support from the Archbishop of Seville, an important personage at this period. Attempts were made to reconcile Isabella to her brother Henry, and an interview took place between them at Segovia, in December 1473. Although apparently reconciled to each other, dissatisfaction was soon expressed by Henry, and he made an attempt, which however proved unsuccessful, to obtain possession of the person of his sister. Ferdinand was again, in 1474, called to the assistance of his father in Arragon. He proceeded to Saragossa, soliciting aid from the estates of Arragon; but the result was insufficient to meet the necessities of King John. The war was, however, terminated by an honourable capitulation of Roussillon, March 14, 1475, when the garrison, according to the historians of this period, evacuated the city, and were compelled to march in their reduced number of 400 on foot to Barcelona, their horses having been consumed by them for food during the siege.

Henry IV. paid the just debt of nature December 11, 1474, after suffering from a lingering disease, and died without making a will or nominating a successor. The legislature tendered their oaths of allegiance to Joanna, but the Cortes subsequently revoked this act and declared Isabella the only true and lawful successor. She was proclaimed Queen at Segovia, December 13, 1474. At the time of Henry's decease Ferdinand was in Arragon. Alphonso V. King of

Portugal, espoused the cause of Joanna, and made war upon Castille. In the month of May, 1475, the Portuguese army was put in motion, and entered Castille by Estramadura, proceeding thence to Placentia, where Alphonso was presented to Joanna as his destined bride. On the 12th of May he was affianced to her, and a message sent to Rome to solicit a dispensation, rendered necessary by their consanguinity. They were then proclaimed sovereigns of Castille. Ferdinand and Isabella were now actively engaged in opposing this invasion of their rights and kingdom. The exertions of Isabella were surprising, and her health was seriously impaired by them. Ferdinand and the King of Portugal met, when the latter was summoned on the 19th of July by the former either to a general engagement of their forces or to a decision by personal combat. The latter proposition was accepted, but, disputes arising in relation to its engagements, it terminated in "an empty vaunt of chivalry." Ferdinand and his army retreated, and the Archbishop of Toledo joined the cause of Alphonso. A proposition was made involving the cession of Gallicia, together with the cities of Toro and Zamora, but Isabella refused to consent to the dismemberment of any portion of the Castilian territory. She placed her reliance on the patriotism of her people, convened an assembly of the states in August 1475 at Medina del Campo, where she received the great support of the clergy, and obtained funds necessary to carry on the war. An action was at length fought, which terminated in favour of Ferdinand. The King of Portugal made his escape. Isabella upon hearing the tidings ordered a procession to St. Paul's, in the suburbs of Tordesillas, and herself walked barefooted to offer up her thanks to God for the victory. Alphonso withdrew with his virgin bride into Portugal, and there solicited assistance from the French King. For this purpose he repaired to France, but the endeavour proved futile. Mortified by his ill success, he withdrew to an obscure village in Normandy, whence he addressed his son, Prince John, requesting him to hold the reins of government whilst he performed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. From this course he was however prevented, and he returned to Portugal, arriving there Nov. 15, 1475, five days after his son had been crowned King of Portugal. Pope Sixtus IV. issued a bull retracting the dispensation he had formerly granted for the marriage of Alphonso, and Prince John returned the crown to his father, who re-ascended the throne of Portugal. He, however, again resolved upon an attempt on Castille, but the Infanta Doña Beatrice of Portugal, sister-in-law of Alphonso, interposed her good offices and effected peace between the belligerent nations. A treaty of peace was ratified at Lisbon September 24, 1479, the stipulations of which are given by Prescott thus:—

"That Alphonso should relinquish the title and armorial bearings which he

had assumed as King of Castille; that he should resign his claims to the hand of the Princess Joanna, and no longer maintain her pretensions to the Castilian throne; that that lady should make the election within six months, either to quit Portugal for ever, or to remain there on the condition of wedding Don John, the infant son of Ferdinand and Isabella, so soon as he should attain a marriageable state, or of retiring into a convent and taking the veil; that a general amnesty should be granted to all such Castilians as had supported Joanna's cause; and, finally, that the concord between the two nations should be cemented by the union of Alphonso, son of the Prince of Portugal, with the Infanta Isabella of Castille."^a

Joanna embraced the veil, entered into the Convent of St. Clara at Coimbra, and one year after her admission took the irrevocable vows separating her from the things of this world. Yet she on several occasions quitted the monastery, and was, indeed, an important person in all the diplomatic proceedings between the courts of Castille and Portugal, and the cause of many intermarriages between the two royal families, calculated to strengthen the throne of Isabella and Ferdinand. Joanna subscribed herself to the last as Queen. She died in the Palace of Lisbon in the year 1530, being then in her sixty-ninth year. Alphonso was disposed to imitate the example set him by Joanna, and formed the resolution of becoming a Franciscan friar; death, however, prevented him from carrying his design into effect. He fell ill at Cintra, and expired August 8, 1481. By the death of King John of Arragon at Barcelona, January 20, 1479, Ferdinand had come to the throne of those realms, and thus the crowns of Castille and Arragon became united after a separation of more than 400 years.

^a Vol. i. p. 283.

VII. *On the Distaff and the Spindle, as the Insignia of the Female Sex in former times.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A. Secretary.

Read 8 May, 1856.

“ Antiquis temporibus ipsæ Reginae fusis usæ sunt.”

Spelman, *Aspilogia*, p. 115.

It is the especial province of the antiquary to collect and arrange, under one view, the scattered notices to be found in old writers, and to illustrate those notices by comparing them with the monuments which time has spared, and the usages which yet linger among us. By such means, passages in history, which are, in themselves, purely incidental and subordinate, are made to bear their share in the illustration of past ages, and thus to afford occasional glimpses of the manners and customs of the generations that have preceded us.

The following pages are attempted with this view. I propose, therefore, to review the history of a once highly honoured usage, the type and symbol of female industry, and the insignia of the softer sex in nearly every age and country; namely, the use of the distaff and spindle.

The knowledge of these implements may certainly be referred to the earliest times, since they are not unfrequently mentioned by the oldest authorities. Homer speaks of golden spindles as fitting presents for ladies of the highest rank,^a and Herodotus tells us that Euelthon's last and most significant gift to Pheretime was a golden spindle and a distaff with wool.^b

A very early allusion to spinning occurs in Proverbs. The passage is extremely curious, not only as being derived by Solomon from a still older authority, but also for its distinct mention both of the spindle and distaff. “She layeth her hands to the spindle, כִּישֹׁר, and her hands hold the distaff, מִלְּקָה.”^c It shows, also, that the distaff was used by the Jewish women, although, from the representation on the tombs of Beni-hassen, the Egyptians appear to have spun their thread without

^a Od. iv. 131.

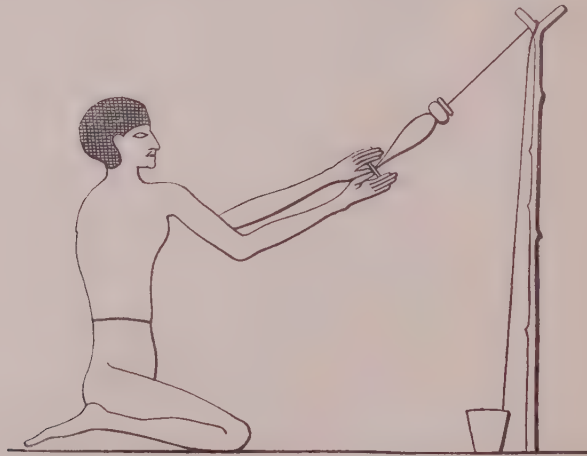
^b Lib. iv. c. 162.

^c Prov. xxxi. 19.

it. One group of women spinners represents them as using a spindle in each hand,^a a proficiency which does not appear to have been ever attained by the moderns.



A male spinner, in the same monument, uses both hands to the spindle.



It will be observed, also, that the Egyptians affixed the vorticellum, or whirl, to the upper part of the spindle, contrary to the practice of other nations. Nevertheless, in the picture of Leda, on the walls of Pompeii, represented in the Museo Borbonico,^b we find two spindles and a calathus, but no distaff; moreover, the

^a Rosellini, mc. No. 41. See also Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 60, and vol. iii. p. 136.

^b Vol. xii. taf. 3.

whirls of the spindle are affixed to the upper part, in the Egyptian manner; a very remarkable peculiarity, well deserving the attention of the archæologist.^a

Minerva, as the instructress of man in all the useful arts, is fabled as the author of the distaff and spindle; hence, as Apollodorus informs us, the Palladium held in its right hand a spear, and a distaff and spindle in the left, *τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ ἡλακάντην καὶ ἄτρακτον*.^b Tertullian, however, says that the ancients ascribed the invention of spinning to Mercury.^c

The story of the device of the Pæonian brothers to attract the notice of Darius, is so much to the purpose, that I shall be pardoned for glancing at it here. They caused their sister to be dressed in her best attire, and to pass in sight of the king, with a vase upon her head, and bearing a distaff and spindle, with which she worked as she led a horse to water. Darius, struck with a sight so unusual in Lydia, demanded of the brothers whence she came, and was told from Pæonia. To his second interrogatory, where was Pæonia situated, and whether all the women of that country were equally industrious, the brothers replied in the affirmative. The result, as Herodotus tells us, was the transportation to Asia of the Pæonians, the Syro-Pæonians, the Pæoplæ, and those who occupied the country as far as the Lake Prasias.^d

Ælian^e repeats the story of the Pæonian women generally, adding that, in addition to this, they suckled their children at the same time. Constantine Porphyro-

^a While these sheets were passing through the press, I was favoured by Dr. Lukis, F.S.A., with a drawing of a distaff used at this day in Nubia. An engraving, one-fourth of the actual size, is here given, and it will be seen that it is used without a spindle, or rather that it acts as a spindle, but is turned without leaving the hand. It seems probable that this is the distaff of primitive antiquity, and it explains the use of the implement held by a female figure on a Greek vase given by Panofka.

From the relative size of the object held by the figure on the Coins of Tarentum, given at page 87, it may possibly be one of these primitive distaffs, and not a spindle or *pensum*, which must have been an improvement upon the earliest method of spinning.

^b Lib. iii. c. 12, s. 3.

^c Credo jam de vestro, quod Egyptii narrant, et Alexander digerit, et mater legit ea tempestate Osiridis, qua ad illum ex Libya Ammon facit, ovium dives. Denique cum ipsis Mercurium autumant forte palpati arietis mollitie delectatum, deglubasse oviculum: dumque pertentat, et quod facilitas materiæ suadebat, tractu prosequente filum eliquat, in vestis pristini modum, quem phylææ tenuis junxerat, exisse.—Tertullian, De Pallio, iii.

These different traditions may perhaps be reconciled by the fact that the spinning of wool, although as old as the days of Homer, was a later invention than that of flax, since the fibre of the latter would the more readily suggest its application.

^d Lib. v. 12, 15.

^e περὶ ξωων βιβ. 2. κεφ. 13.



genitus,^a however, gives us a similar relation out of Nicholas Damascenus, but says the woman was the wife of a Thracian, γυνὴ τοῦ Θρακῶς—and the monarch Alyattes, King of Lydia. Be this as it may, it plainly shews that the story had taken deep root in the popular mind in an early age, and that tradition had preserved the fact without materially altering the narration.

Pliny, on the authority of an eye-witness, reports that the distaff and spindle of Tanaquil, or Caia, the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, was long preserved in the Temple of Sangus, whilst the royal robe she had made for Servius Tullus was preserved in the Temple of Fortune: hence, he continues, it was the custom to carry before the Roman bride a distaff, charged with flax, and a spindle likewise furnished.^b Cæcilia Caia is said to have been the Roman name for Tanaquil. That she was regarded as the model of a good housewife, appears from the custom of the newly married wife, on entering her husband's house for the first time and being asked her name, replying, "my name is Caia."

Plutarch says, that the name *Thalassius*, chaunted at the nuptials of the antient Greeks, had reference to their word for spinning, *ταλασία*, because they called a spindle *ταλασσος*; and that when the bride was introduced to her new home, she brought with her a distaff and a spindle, and hung her husband's door with woollen yarn.^c

From Pliny we learn that a rural law in Italy forbade the women to use their distaves abroad, or even to carry them openly, it being considered a bad omen to meet them thus employed.^d

Many passages from the ancient poets might be cited, in which the mode of

^a περι θεμάτων, βιβ. Α. κεφ. γ. Ed. 1698, p. 29.

^b Lanam in colo et fuso Tanaquilis, quæ eadem Caia Caecilia vocata est, in Templo Sangi durasse, prodente se, auctor est M. Varro: factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in æde Fortunæ, qua Servius Tullus fuerat usus. Inde factum, ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus compta, et fusus cum stamine.—Hist. Nat. lib. viii. 74.

^c Quest. Rom. 31.

^d Pagana lege in plerisque Italiæ prædiis cavetur ne mulieres per itinera ambulantes torqueant fusos aut omnino detectos ferant, quoniam adversatur id omnium spei, præcipuèque frugum.—Hist. Nat. lib. xxviii. 5.

A similar superstition once obtained in France, and may have been derived from the Roman Conquerors. "Quant un homme chevauche par le chemin et il rencontre une femme filant, c'est très mauvais rencontre, et doit retourner et prendre son chemin par autre voie."—Les Evangiles des Quenouilles, Quatrième Journée, xxi. chapitre.

A Roman citizen mourned a deceased wife, whose virtues included spinning and staying at home. The inscription to her memory is given by Fabretti, p. 252, No. 35 :—HIC SITA EST AMYMONÉ MARCI • OPTIMA ET PVLCHERRIMA, LANIFICA • PIA • PVDICA • FRVGI • CASTA • DOMISEDA.—See also Orellius, Inscr. Lat. Select. vol. ii. Turici, 1828, Nos. 4639 and 4860.

spinning is described, but that of Catullus will suffice. The *Parcæ* are spinning the web of destiny :

Læva colum molli lana retinebat amictum;
Dextera tum leviter deducens fila supinis
Formabat digitis; tum pronò in pollice torquens,
Libratum tereti versabat turbine fusum.^a

Among the many beautiful coins of Tarentum in Calabria are several, of which I exhibit impressions, representing the mythic hero Taras, sometimes riding on a dolphin, and sometimes seated in a chair. In each of these representations he holds various objects, a shield, a vase, a lyre, a bunch of grapes, the cuttlefish, and, not unfrequently, a spindle with the yarn wound upon it. On one small coin the spindle appears as the reverse type, surrounded by a garland. I can find no trace in antient authors of the myth which associated this emblem of female industry with the demi-god so highly venerated at Tarentum. It probably has allusion to the manufacture of flax, wool, and especially the purple cloth, for which the Tarentines were so famous, and in exchange for which they obtained the luxuries of the ancient world.^b Strabo especially mentions the glossy wool of Tarentum.^c



Descending to later times, we find the distaff and the spindle still more conspicuous as the distinguishing badge of the female sex. Among our Saxon ancestors, the “spear half” and the “spindle half” expressed the male and female line, and the spear and the spindle are at this day found in their graves.^d It was the same

^a Epithalam. Pelei et Thetidos. Martial styles the Fates “lanificæ sorores.” vi. 58.

^b Athenæus, lib. xiv. c. 16; Jul. Pollux, lib. vii. s. 77, voce *ραπαρτίτιδιον*.

^c Lib. vi. c. 3, s. 9.

^d See the will of Alfred the Great; Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, vol. i. p. 116; Archæologia, vol. xxxv. p. 267; Remains of Pagan Saxondom, Intr. p. xii., and p. 48.

It was the custom of the Pagan Prussians to burn the distaff of the woman on the funeral pile. “Si fœmina erat igne cremanda, Colus, insigne sexus fœminei, solebat simul comburi.”—Hartknock, de Funerib. Vet. Prussor. m. 193. Diss. xiii.

with the Thuringians;^a and, among the Franks, the choice of a sword or a distaff decided the fate of a free woman who had attached herself to a slave.^b Even at this day it is said: “Le Royaume de France ne tombe point en quenouille,” and the German Jurisprudents still use the phrases “schwert magen,” and “spindel magen.”

This distinction obtained in England long after the Norman Conquest, when, however, the Saxon form of expression appears to have been changed. Thus Knyghton tells us that Henry the Third, on the death of John Earl of Chester and Huntingdon, gave to his sisters other lands in compensation, unwilling that such possessions should fall to the distaff, “Verum quia terra sua gaudebat regali prerogativa, comitatus ejus ad manus regis devenit, datis aliis terris hereditibus sororibus suis in compensationem, ne tam præclara dominatio inter colos feminarum dividi contingeret.”^c

The science of the moderns has, however, banished (from this country at least) even the spinning *wheel*, an improvement on the simpler process of the distaff and the spindle. We are told that the spinning wheel was invented by a citizen of Brunswick, named Jurgen, in the year 1530. My authority is an obsolete French Cyclopædia, entitled “Dictionnaire des Origines,” printed in Paris in 1777. The statement appears to be, in some manner, supported by the Dictionary of Palsgrave, printed in 1530,^d where we find the phrase, “I spyne upon a rocke,” rendered, “je fille au rouet.” From this we may infer that the spinning wheel was certainly known as early as the year of its reputed invention.

In the Catholicon of Joannes de Janua, who lived in the thirteenth century, we find the word *Colus* glossed thus, “item invenitur hic colus pro rota feminarum.” This seems scarcely intelligible; and a friend suggests that the word *rota* may have originally been written *roca*, and that the scribe has converted it into *rota*. Be this as it may, we have good evidence that a wheel was actually used in spinning at a much earlier date than the sixteenth century. A manuscript in the British

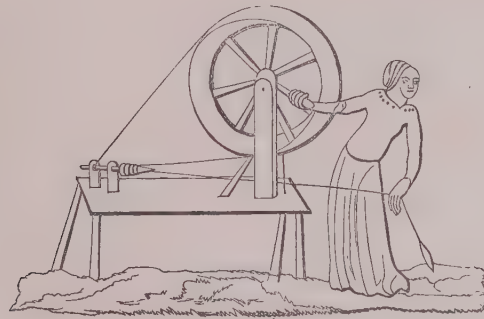
^a Usque ad quintam generationem paterna generatio succedat. Post quintam autem filia ex toto, sive de patris sive matris parte, in hereditatem succedat, et tunc demum hereditas ad fustum a lancea transeat.—Lex Thuring. tit. vi. c. 8.

^b Lex Ripuar. tit. lviii. c. 18; Archæologia, vol. xxxv. p. 267, note.

^c De Eventibus Angliæ, lib. ii. p. 2431, apud Decem. Script. By indenture of bargain and sale, dated 13 July, 1669, Mathias Terry and Elizabeth his wife conveyed to the Corporation of London, as trustees for Christ's Hospital, certain pieces of land, &c. in or near *Maidenhead Street*, otherwise *Distaff Lane*. Rept. of Com. of Charities on the London Hospitals, 32, part vi. 1840, p. 139.

^d L'esclaircissement de la Langue Francoyse, composé par maistre Jehan Palsgrave. Fol. 1530.

Museum,^a written at the commencement of the fourteenth century, contains several representations of a woman spinning with a wheel, but she *stands* at her work, and the wheel is moved with her right hand, while with her left she twirls the spindle.^b The spinning-wheel said to have been invented in 1530, was doubtless that to which women *sat*, and which was worked with the feet.^c



The older French dictionaries supply us with several proverbs and allusions to these womanly implements. Cotgrave^d gives us a few, of which the following are examples :—

“Tenir de la Quenouille.” To be under petticoat government.

“Contes de la Quenouille.” Old wives’ tales.

“A la Quenouille le fol s’agenouille.” Fools kneel to distaves,—weak men to women.

^a This MS. belongs to the old Royal Collection, and is numbered 10 E. IV. It contains the Five Books of Decretals, and formerly belonged to Saint Bartholomew’s Hospital. At the end is written—

“Explicit hic totum, qui scripsit da sibi potum.”

The volume contains 628 pages, and is illustrated throughout with a profusion of illuminations representing the combats of knights, grotesques, and domestic occupations. The spinning scene is repeated at folios 137, 139, 146, and 147.

^b This is in fact the wheel called a “torn,” for spinning wool, still used in some districts of England.

^c I know not what to make of the following passage in Stowe’s Chronicle, p. 870, ed. 1631:—“About the 20th year of Henry VIIth Anthony Bonvise, an Italian, came into this land, and taught English people to spin with a distaff, at which time began the making of Devonshire kersies and corall clothes.” Aubrey, in his Natural History of Wiltshire, says, “The art of spinning is so much improved within these last forty years that one pound of wool makes twice as much cloath (as to extent) as it did before the civill warres.” Both these notices evidently allude to mechanical improvements.

^d Voce *Quenouille*.

Again:—"Le fuseau doit suyvre le gorreau." While the husband labours, the wife must not be idle.^a

In France, too, they have a saying expressive of days long passed away: "Au temps que la Reine Berthe filait;" paralleled in Italy by the phrase "Nel tempo ove Berta filava," and "Non è piu il tempo che Berta filava."

The personage here alluded to is identical with the *Frau* Berchta of German superstition. She is said still to live in the imaginations of the upper German races in Austria, Bavaria, Suabia, Alsace, Switzerland, and some districts of Thuringia and Franconia. "She appears in the Twelve Nights as a woman with shaggy hair to inspect the spinners, when fish and porridge are to be eaten in honour of her, and all the distaffs must be spun off."^b

This superstition was, very clearly, once common in England. Brand, in his "Popular Antiquities,"^c quotes some lines from a book entitled "Wit a sporting in a pleasant Grove of New Fancies, by H. B. 8vo. London, 1657." They are entitled "Saint Distaff's Day, or the morrow after Twelfth Day," and are, in fact, stolen from Herrick's "Hesperides:"—

"Partly work and partly play
You must on Saint Distaff's Day:
From the plough soon free your team;
Then come home and fother them.
If the maides a spinning goe,
Burn the flaxe and fire the tow;
Scorch their placquets, but beware
That ye singe no maiden haire.
Bring in pailles of water then,
Let the maids bewash the men.
Give Saint Distaff all the right,
Then give Christmas sport good night;
And next morning every one
To his own vocation."

It is easy to perceive in these lines an allusion to some heathen divinity whose worship was peculiar to women, although the honours were affected to be rendered

^a Voce *fuseau*. Proverbs allusive to the distaff and spindle are of course common to every country. Ducange gives one formerly common in Italy—"Fa d'una lancia uno fuso." In Portugal they say—

"Cada terra o seu uzo,
Cada roca o seu fuзо."

^b Northern Mythology, comprising the principal Popular Traditions and Superstitions of Scandinavia, North Germany, &c. By B. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 278. London, 1851.—Grimm, D. Myth. p. 250.

^c art. Twelfth Day.

to a saint, and this can be no other than "Frau Berchta," who, under the various names of Holda, Waud, Wod, Frû Wösen, Frû Goden, Fricke, &c. still reigns among the peasantry of North Germany.^a Nares, not suspecting the heathenism which lurked in this custom, observes of Saint Distaff,—“No regular saint, but a name jocosely given to Rock or Distaff Day, which was the day after Twelfth Day.”^b

Brand^c falls into sad confusion in discussing Rock Day, which he evidently confounds with St. Roche's Day. "I have sometimes," he observes, "suspected that 'Roche Monday' is a misprint for 'Hock Monday,' for there is a passage in Warner's 'Albion's England,' edit. 1597 and 1602, p. 121, as follows:—

‘Rock and Plough Monday gams sal gang with saint feasts and kirk sights.’

And again, at p. 407, edit. 1602,—

“‘The duly keepe for thy delight Rock Monday^d and the Wake,
Have shrovinge, Christmas gambols, with hokie and seed cake.’”

The allusions are, however, obvious, and ought not to have escaped detection by so diligent an antiquary.

In the Northern mythology the three stars in the Belt of Orion are called Frigga Rock, or Frigga's Distaff. This, in the days of Christianity, was changed to Maria Rock. Superstitions regarding spinning still survive among all the Northern nations. There is a Swedish tradition that there must be no spinning on Thursday evening, nor in Passion Week, or there will be spinning in the night.^e Among the Danes, nothing that runs round must be set in motion from Christmas Day till New Year's Day; there must consequently be neither spinning nor winding.^f Among the traditions of North Germany is one that there should be no spinning on Saturday evening. They have a story that there were two old women, good friends, and the most indefatigable spinners in the village. Their work did not cease even on Saturday evenings. At length one of them died; but on the following Saturday she appeared to the other, busy at her usual employment, and showed her her burning hand, saying—

^a Northern Mythology, ut sup. vol. iii. p. 153.

^b Glossary, v. *Distaff*.

^c Vol. i. p. 193, edit. 1841.

^d It is suggested by a friend that the morrow of Twelfth Day would only occasionally be a Monday; but it may have been figuratively called so, being the first day after the feast of Christmas, as Monday was the first after the feast of the Sabbath.

^e Northern Myth. vol. ii. p. 111.

^f Northern Myth. vol. ii. p. 172.

"Sieh, was ich in der Hölle gewann,
Weil ich am Sonnabendabend spann!"

i. e.—

"See what I in Hell have won,
Because on Saturday I spun!"^a

All these superstitions are palpable remains of heathenism, which Christianity warred with, but has not entirely eradicated, though they have become confused, and at times difficult of identification.

In that very scarce and curious book "*The Gospelles of Distaves*," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, a translation of "*Les Evangiles des Conoilles*," the joint production of Tourquart de Cambray, Antoine Duval, and Jean D'Arras, called Caron, first printed about the year 1475,^b the interlocutors bear names some of which strongly savour of heathenism. They are described as Dame Isengryne of Glory, Dame Transelyne of the Crook, Dame Abunde of the Oven, Dame Sibylle of the Mareys, Dame Gamber the Fay, and Dame Bertha horned. In the last personage we have an evident allusion to the Frau Berchta of Northern superstition, while in the third we discover Dame Abundia, another mythic lady, who, according to Grimm, is supposed still to take an interest in human affairs. I leave to the curious in Folk Lore the identification of the other ladies of this strange coterie.

Among the interrogatories of the Priest to the female Penitent, in the *Decretals* of Burchard of Worms, is one which has reference to certain superstitious practices observed by women engaged in spinning and weaving. The penitent is asked whether she has ever been present and taken part in the follies which some women commit in spinning and weaving, who, when they begin to weave, wish they may be able, by incantations, and by being the first to commence them, to manage that both the warp and the woof be so completely interwoven that the whole may not be spoilt by the devil's interfering with counter incantations. The penance for this offence is thirty days' fast on bread and water.^c

^a Ibid. vol. iii. p. 6. In Altmark there must be no spinning on Thursday evening, nor any dung carried out on that day. Ibid. p. 174.

^b A reprint of this singular work has just appeared in Paris. Apart from the passages of coarse humour, it contains notices of, and allusions to, many curious superstitions of the middle ages.

^c Interfuisti aut consensisti vanitatibus quas mulieres exercent in suis laneficiis, in suis telis, quæ cum ordiuntur telas suas, sperant se utrumque posse facere cum incantationibus et cum aggressu illarum, ut et fila staminis et subteminis in invicem ita commisceantur, nisi his iterum aliis diaboli incantationibus e contra subveniant, totum pereat? Si interfuisti, aut consensisti, triginta dies pœniteas in pane et aqua.—Burchardi Wormaciensis Decret. lib. xix.

The well-known couplet, said to have been the rallying cry on the occasions of popular risings in England,

“ When Adam dolve, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?”

well expresses the notion which our forefathers entertained of human industry in primitive times. Some such homely distich was probably in the mind of him who sculptured the curious font in East Meon Church, Hants. An engraving of this font will be found in the *Archæologia*.^a The different groups represent,—1st, the Almighty forming Eve from the side of Adam; 2nd, the plucking of the forbidden fruit; 3rd, the expulsion of our first parents from Paradise; and 4th, the guilty pair sent forth to labour. Adam receives a spade from the angel, with a submissive and even abased air, while our common mother stalks away with head erect, plying her spindle and distaff.^b

In a play entitled “*Corpus Christi*,” performed in old times before the Grey or Franciscan Friars, we have a scene quite in character with the popular feeling of the middle ages. The expulsion from paradise is enacted, and Adam exclaims, as he hears his sentence to toil :—

“ But lete us walke forth into the lande
With ryth great labour our fode to fynde,
With delvyng and dyggyng with myn hond
Our blysse to bale and car to pynde;
And wyff, to spynne now must thou fonde
Our nakyd bodyes in cloth to wynde,
Tyll some comforth of Godys sonde
With grace releve our careful mynde.
Now, come, go we hens, wyff.”

Eve replies :—

“ Alas that ever we wrought this synne!
Our bodely sustenans for to wynne
Ze must delve and I xal spynne
In car to ledyn our lyff.”^c

^a Vol. X. Plates xx. xxi. and xxii.

^b One of the marble bas-reliefs on the façade of the cathedral of Orvieto has a similar subject.—D’Agen-court, *Sculpt.* Part i. Plate 32.

^c Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, edit. 1830, vol. vi. pt. iii. p. 1539. From the Cott. MS. Vesp. D. viii.

In former times the distaff, or rock, was a formidable weapon in the hands of the gentler sex. The Rhyming Chronicle says :—

“ Quinnor tager thereas hæst ock harnysk ifra,
Ok monde them med rockin sla.”^a

i. e.—

“ Feminæ viros equos et thoraces auferunt,
Illosque suis colis pulsant.”

And in the Digby Mysteries a woman exclaims, as she brandishes her distaff,—

“ What! shall a woman with a Rocke drive thee away!”

In “*Le Compost et Kalendrier de Bergiers*,” printed at Paris by Guy Marchant,^b two armed men, and a woman armed with a distaff, are represented attacking a snail, who is addressed by the woman in these words :—

“ Vuyde de ce lieu, tresor de beste,
Qui des Vignes les bourgons mages
Sur arbre et sur buysson
As tout mäge iusques aux brâches,
De ma quenouille si tu tavances
Ic te donray tel horion
Quon sentendrai dicy a nantes.”

In the “*Winter’s Tale*,” Hermione exclaims,

“ We ’ll thwack him hence with distaffs.”^c

Another passage from an old rhyme affords further evidence that the distaff could, in emergency, be converted into a cudgel :—

“ Hands off, with gentle warning,
Lest I you knock with Nancy’s Rock,
And teach you a little learning.”^d

And Chaucer, describing the hue and cry after the fox, says,—

“ Ran Colle our dogge, and Talbot, and Garland,
And Malkyn with a distaf in hir hand.”^e

The distaff served the purpose of a cudgel on the occasion of the collection of “*repsilver*” at Bury.^f

It must not be supposed, however, that, although the employment of the distaff and spindle may be referred to the remotest times, and more generally, perhaps, to the humbler classes, that they were not used by women of rank and condition, even down to a comparatively recent period. Lenoir found in the tombs of the

^a Chron. Rythm. p. 496, apud Ihre, Gloss. v. *Rocken*.

^b Anno 1500, sig. n. i.

^c Act i. scene 2.

^d Wits’ Interpreter, quoted by Nares, v. *Distaff*.

^e The Nonne Prest his Tale, 16869-70.

^f Vide the “*Chronica Jocelini de Brakelonda*,” edit. Rokewode, p. 73.

Queens of France significant proofs of their use, and of the light in which they were regarded, in the fourteenth century. He tells us, in his report of the desecration of the royal tombs in the abbey of Saint Denis in the year 1793, that he found in the coffin of Jeanne de Bourgogne, the first wife of Philip de Valois, the Queen's ring of silver, and her distaff and spindle.^a The tomb of Jeanne de Bourbon, wife of Charles the Fifth, also contained, among other relics, a spindle or distaff of gilt wood.^b

Nothing of this kind has, I believe, been discovered in England, but we cannot be certain that it was not the practice to bury women of distinction with the acknowledged insignia of their sex. Grose^c mentions the tomb of Alice, Prioress of the nunnery of Emanuel or Manuel, in Stirlingshire, on which was sculptured a distaff; and in Germany the spindle was suspended over the tomb of women of high rank, as the helm and sword were displayed above those of the knight and the noble. Ditmar tells us that a silver spindle was suspended above the tomb of the wife of Conrad Duke of Franconia, and daughter of the Emperor Otho, in the church of Saint Alban the Martyr at Mayence.^d

The use of the Distaff in England by the Recluses is shown by Aubrey. He says, "This country (Wiltshire) was full of religious houses. Old Jacques (who lived where Charles Hadnam did) could see from his house the nuns of Saint Mary's (juxta Kington) come forth into the Nymph Hay with their rocks and wheels to spin, and with their sewing work."^e The same author, in his MS. History of Wilts, in the Library of the Royal Society, says, "In the old time they used to spin with Rocks: in Staffordshire, &c. they use them still."

We here see, in these incidental notices, that the spinning-wheel had, in some instances, already superseded the more simple appliances of the spinster. From this, and the phrase already quoted from Palsgrave, we may infer that its general adoption was almost contemporaneous with its invention.

This change, singularly enough, appears to be almost coincident with an altera-

^a "Plus pres l'autel on ouvrit celui de Jeanne de Bourgogne, premiere femme de Philippe de Valois, dans lequel on trouva l'anneau d'argent qui portait cette princesse, *sa quenouille, et son fuseau*." Notes historiques sur les exhumations faites en 1793, dans l'Abbaye de St. Denis, p. 354.

^b "Dans le cercueil de Jeanne de Bourbon sa femme (Charles V.) on a decouvert un reste de couronne, son anneau d'or, des debris de bracelets ou chainons, *un fuseau ou quenouille de bois doré*, des souliers de forme pointue, etc."—Ibid. p. 346.

^c Antiquities of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 236.

^d "Cujus fusum argenteum in ejus memoriæ ibidem est suspensum."—Ditmar. Chron. apud Script. Rer. Brunswic. edit. Leibnit. lib. ii.

^e Memoir of John Aubrey, by John Britton. 4to. London, 1845, p. 86.

tion in, or modification of, our legal phraseology, and to have abrogated the use of the word spinster when applied to single women of a certain rank. Coke says, "and *Generosus* and *Generosa* are good additions: and, if a Gentlewoman be named Spinster in any original writ, etc. appeale, or indictemente, she may abate and quash the same; for she hath as good right to that addition as Baronesse, Viscountesse, Marchionesse, or Dutchesse have to theirs."^a Blount, in his Law Dictionary, says of Spinster, "It is the addition usually given to all unmarried women, from the Viscount's daughter downward."^b In his Glosso-graphia he says of Spinster, "It is a term or addition in our law dialect, given in evidences and writings to a *feme sole*, as it were calling her *Spinner*: and this is the only addition for all unmarried women, from the Viscount's daughter downward."^c

I am unable to trace these distinctions to their source, but they are too remarkable, as indicating a great change of feeling among the upper classes in the sixteenth century, to be passed unnoticed. May we suppose that, among other causes, the art of printing had contributed to bring about this change, affording employment to women of condition, who now devoted themselves to reading instead of applying themselves to the primitive occupations of their grandmothers, and that the wheel and the distaff being left to humbler hands the time-honoured name of *Spinner* was at length considered too homely for a maiden above the common rank?

The observation of Coke stands in singular contrast with the fact mentioned by Spelman, who says that Pollard, a judge, was represented on his monument with eleven sons, each girt with the sword, and the like number of daughters with their spindles.^d Sir Lewis Pollard was constituted a Judge of the Common Pleas on the 29th May, the 6th of Henry VIII.^e and he died in 1540. Whether the mode of decorating his monument was his own choice or direction, or those of his family, the fact is equally interesting, as furnishing incontestable evidence that the spindle was regarded as the badge of the sex in the first half of the sixteenth century.^f

^a Instit. Stat. de Hen. V. cap. 5, of Additions, p. 668, edit. 1797.

^b Voce *Spinster*.

^c Ibid.

^d Pollard, miles et justic. habuit xi. filios gladii cinctos in tumulo suo, et totidem filias fuis depinctas.—Gloss. voce *Spinster*.

^e Dugdale, Origines Juridicales, Chronica Series, pp. 78-9.

^f Fuller says, in his "Worthies of England,"—"Sir Lewis Pollard, of King's Nimet, in this county (Devon), Serjeant of the Law, and one of the Justices of the King's Bench in the time of Henry VIII., was a man of singular knowledge and worth, who by his Lady Elizabeth had eleven sons, four of whom attained to the honour of knighthood, and eleven daughters, married to the most potent families in this county."

"The portraiture of Sir Lewis and his lady, with their two and twenty children, are set up in a glass

In the "Boke of Husbandry," said to have been written by Antony Fitzherbert, a Judge of the Common Pleas, temp. Henry VIII. the writer urges attention to the growth and preparation of flax, which, he observes, should be among the cares of the good housewife. "Thereof," he says, "maie they make shetes, bordclothes, towells, sherts, smockes, and such other necessities, and therefore let thy distaffe be alwaye redye for a pastyme, that thou be not ydle. And undoubted a woman can not gette her lyvinge honestly with spynnyng on the dystaffe, but it stoppeth a gap and must nedes be had."^a In another place, speaking of sheep, he remarks, "And then maye his wife have part of the wool, to make hir husband and herself some clothes. And at the feast waye she may have the lockes either to make clothes or blankettes and coverlettes, or bothe, and if she have no woll of her owne, she may takè woll to spynne of clothe makers,^b and by that meanes she may have a convenient livynge, and many times to do other warkes."^c

window at Nimet Bishop. There is a tradition continued in this family, that the lady glassing the window in her husband's absence at the term in London, caused one child more than she had to be set up, presuming (having had one and twenty already) she should have another child, which inserted in expectance, came to pass accordingly. This memorable knight died anno 1540." P. 255, ed. 1662. This window has disappeared, and the memory of it is entirely forgotten.

Gwillim, in his *Display of Heraldry*, gives a coat of Hoby, of Neath Abbey, the bearings of which are three fusils or spindles.

Of the family of Trefusis, he says, they bear, Argent, a chevron between three wharrow spindles sable, adding—"This spindle differeth much from those preceding in respect of the crook above, and of the wharrow imposed upon the lower part thereof. This sort of spindle women do use most commonly to spin withall, not at the torn, as the former, but at a distaff put under their girdle, so as they oftentimes spin therewith going. The round ball at the lower end serveth to the fast twisting of the thread, and is called a wharrow; and therefore this is called a wharrow-spindle, where the others are called slippers that pass through the yarn as this doth." A friend informs me that on one occasion he saw in the Highlands of Scotland a small potato serving the office of a wharrow, or spindle-whirl.

^a Fol. 67.

^b He might have added, that she had need be on her guard against a description of roguery described by the Monk of Malvern. Covetise says :

"My wif was a webbe,
And wollen cloth made;
She spak to spynnesteres
To spynnen it oute,
Ac the pound that she paied by
Peised a quatron moore
Than myn owene auncer
Who so weyed truthe."

Vision of Piers Ploughman, l. 2904.

^c Fol. 68.

This is, perhaps, one of the most significant notices to be found in our literature, of the use of the distaff and spindle. It shows that spinning, although a needful art, was the occupation of female leisure, the employment of the rich and the poor in the intervals of more important business, and in the long nights of winter. Hence Chaucer sarcastically makes it one of the three resources of women at all times :—

“ Decept, wepynge, spynnyng, God hath give
To wymmen kyndely, whil thay may live.”^a

The distaff was, in fact, like the fancy-work and crochet of our day, a remedy against idleness, and was rarely abandoned, except when other duties demanded attention and forbade its use. This is plainly shown in the life of Saint Bertha, who, though engaged in the important office of founding a religious house, carried her distaff with her, using it in the manner of a plough, to trace a channel from the well which she had purchased, to the monastery, the water filling the trench and flowing after her as she desired !^b

The distaff and spindle afforded light and not irksome employment even to the invalid and the blind. Nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly their constant and inveterate use than the vulgar superstition recorded in the “*Evangelies des Quenouilles*,” where the thread spun by a woman in childbed is directed to be tied around warts in order to charm them away.^c

By the kindness of Mr. William Tooke, F.R.S., I am enabled to exhibit a very fine example of a marriage medal, one of a class of memorials once very common in Holland and parts of Germany in the 17th century. The devices of these medals are, of course, various, but that on the specimen exhibited very aptly illustrates the popular notion as to the portion of labour assigned to either sex. A man and a woman, clad in primitive costume, and linked together by the arms and legs, support between them the trite emblem of a pair of burning hearts, while a child

^a Prol. to the Wyf of Bathe's Tale, 5983-4.

^b The passage is so curious that I transcribe it for the reader's edification :—“*Tunc sancta mater Deo plena, colo, quam manu tenebat, cœpit terram fodere, et in modum sulci rigam facere, orans ac dicens: Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam, et salutare tuum da nobis. Revertens namque ad Monasterium, colum eadem post se trahebat, tantaque abundantia aquæ eam sequebatur, ut ad usus omnes hominibus pertinentes sufficeret: sicut usque hodie apparet.*”—*De S. Bertha Martyre Abatissa Avennaci. Acta Sanctorum*, Maij, tom. i. p. 114.

^c Pour etre quite des poirions, il fault prendre du fille qui une femme a filé tandis qu'elle couche d'enfant, et en loyer les poirions, et incontinent ilz cherront tous, sans aucune remède.—*Les Evangelies des Quenouilles*, App. B. Quatrième serie, p. 158, edit. 1855.

dances on their fetters. The man holds a spade of mediæval shape, the woman a distaff and spindle.

The distaff and spindle on the table, for the loan of which I am indebted to Mr. Winter Jones, are in use in the neighbourhood of Pau. It was originally six inches longer, but was abridged of its length for the convenience of carriage. The owner, a lady, has kindly favoured me with the following remarks on the use of these primitive implements:—

“The distaff in use in the Pyrennees is about three feet long, and made of a stalk of maize stained. In the more mountainous parts bordering on Spain, it is formed with a bow across the top, sometimes twice crossed, through which the flax is passed and tied in the centre with a band of tow. In the more northern villages of the Lower Pyrennees (and I believe it is the same in the other provinces which are on the borders of Spain) the flax is kept in its place, not by being passed through a loop, but by a piece of coloured paper slightly pinned around it. The spindle is sometimes made entirely of wood, and sometimes it is pointed with iron,^a and at other times made steady by a large bead of earthenware passed over the lower end. The distaff is supported in various ways to suit the convenience of the spinner; sometimes steadied merely by the arm, sometimes held firmly between the knees, and at others passed through a girdle round the waist.”

This description would probably apply to the distaff in nearly every age, but we have already seen that in Western Europe it could in emergency be converted into a weapon of offence, of which the fragile and delicate example on the table is not susceptible. That it was stuck in the girdle we find from mediæval representations. In the Loutrell Psalter the good wife comes out to feed the hen and her chicks from a platter, her distaff in her girdle; and in the very beautiful MS. of Valerius Maximus, in the British Museum,^b Sardanapalus^c is depicted spinning among a company of women whose distaves are secured in the same way.

^a It is thus rendered a stiletto, with which the woman of the South could defend herself. In the North of Europe the distaff might be converted into a club.

^b MS. Harl. 4375.

^c O ! dist Spadassin, par Dieu voicy ung bon resveux; mais allons nous cacher au coign de la cheminée; et la passons avec les dames nostre vie et nostre temps à enfiler de perles, ou à filer comme Sardanapalus.—Rabelais, liv. i. c. 33.



Among the numerous objects of ancient art preserved in the Hotel de Cluny at Paris is a *Quenouille de Mariage* in sculptured wood of the sixteenth century. Another exists in the collection of M. Ledicte Duflos of Clermont (Oise). Both these interesting objects have been beautifully represented in the work of M. Sere.

I exhibit examples of the *Vorticellum*, or spindle-whirl. Though well known on the Continent, where the simpler means of spinning still survive, this object is not so easily recognized in this country. It has been not unfrequently found in the graves of Anglo-Saxon women. Several whirls were discovered in the ruins of Caerwent last year, and specimens have recently been exhibited to the Society by Colonel Munro, by whom they were found among the ancient remains near Sebastopol. We may, in fact, expect to find them wherever the older traces of human settlements and human industry are explored, since they are inseparably associated with the sex whose habits restricted them chiefly to the limits of their dwellings.

The art of spinning, in one of its simplest and most primitive forms, is yet pursued in Italy, where the countrywomen of Caia still twirl the spindle, unrestrained by

that ancient rural law which forbade its use without doors. The Distaff has outlived the Consular fasces, and survived the conquests of the Goth and the Hun. But rustic hands alone now sway the sceptre of Tanaquil, and all but the peasant disdain a practice which once beguiled the leisure of highborn dames.

The foregoing are among the illustrations of an art the origin of which is lost in the mist of ages, although the memory of it yet survives among us in the epithet Spinster. The inquiry is not unworthy of the antiquary, and may be still further pursued by those whom leisure or inclination may incline to the task. To any one so disposed I can only say with a poet of the 17th century :—

“Weave thou to end this web which I begin,
I will the distaff hold, come thou and spin.”^a

J. Y. AKERMAN.

^a Fairfax, Jer. lib. iv. 24.



NOVEMBER.

From a Book of Hours in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

VIII. *Notes on the Interment of a Young Frankish Warrior, discovered at Envermeu, Seine Inférieure, on September 10, 1856, by the ABBÉ COCHET. Translated, and followed by some Remarks upon the Abbé's Notes, by W. M. WYLIE, Esq. F.S.A. In a Letter addressed to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq. Secretary.*

Read January 22, 1857.

ON September 8th, 1856, I commenced my seventh, and last, archæological research in the remarkable cemetery of Envermeu, which, since its first discovery in 1850, has been the means of revealing to me nearly the whole of Merovingian archæology. On the 10th I visited the ground to examine the trenches which the workmen had prepared, and, on the same day, I examined seven interments, the first of which proved to be the most interesting of all my discoveries of this season.

Like all the rest, this grave was cut in the chalk to a depth of six feet and a half. Its position was east and west, according to the custom of the period, and of that which was generally adopted by the Franks. This interment remained intact, amidst a number of others violated and rifled in ages long gone by. We found the body, and all the accompanying objects, just as they were placed on the day of interment.

The grave appears to have been that of a young warrior, buried here with his equipments, and the vanities of dress in which he had delighted during life. The body was surrounded by, or more properly inclosed in, a dark mass strongly resembling charcoal, and probably formed by the decayed wood of the coffin. I am led to this conclusion by the chymical analysis of a similar substance found under similar circumstances,^a and hence I have been enabled to recognise decomposed wood, or a lignite, in a substance which would otherwise have merely appeared to be charcoal.

The head, which we examined first, as is usual in such cases, displayed on either side a green stain produced by the green oxide of copper. Soon after we met with a pair of ear-rings of base silver, the large torqued circles of which were

^a I. Girardin. *Analyses de plusieurs Produits d'Art d'une haute Antiquité*, p. 38. *Précis Analytique des Travaux de l'Acad. de Rouen*, 1851—52.

closed by a sort of hook and eye. The drops were of a square form, with the angles cut in facets, and formed of paste, or mastic, covered with fine, delicate silver leaf. These drops were set on the four faces with green glass in lozenge form. The eight facets also were decorated with triangular pieces of the same glass. At either end of the pendants project four little silver tubes set with particles of blue glass, with excellent effect (Pl. II. fig. 2).

On the right of the skull we found an iron spear-head about nine inches in length. Some eight inches of the staff were yet distinguishable by the reddish traces of oxydised wood. This weapon leads us to suppose we have the remains of a warrior before us. But for this, I should naturally, from the accompanying ornaments, have deemed them to be those of a female. This little lance, or *framea* as I may term it, recalls the memory of the young Germans, to whom the *framea* was permitted, just as the youth of Rome were invested with the *prætexta*.^a

Round the neck of our young warrior, just below the jaw, I collected fourteen beads of glass paste, which had formed a necklace. These beads were rounded, and are of an oblong shape. Twelve are of a hard red paste covered with incrustations of a yellow enamel in the form of eyes; or of various patterns, serrated, godrooned, or guilloched. Two again are of dark-green glass encircled by bands of white enamel.

Though our young subject must necessarily be ascribed to the military class, yet some embarrassment is caused by the presence on the breast of a stylus of either bronze tinned, or else of base silver, for it is still bright, and fit for use. The length is nearly nine inches (Pl. II. fig. 1). This strong and elegant instrument had imparted a greenish tint to the vertebræ—the result of the oxide.

Here, as universally has been the case, the belt was the most productive part of the mine, both as regards implements of use, and ornaments. First, we found the obligatory knife, about seven inches in length in all, in its leathern sheath. A long-shaped hole at the extremity of the wooden haft must have been arranged to receive the strap which secured it to the belt.

^a “Vel pater vel propinquus scuto frameaque juvenem ornat; hæc apud illos toga; hic primus juventutis honos; ante hoc domûs pars videntur, nunc reipublicæ.”—Tacitus de Germ. Mor. c. 5. On this passage of Tacitus I would remark, that though in the times of Augustus and Trajan the shield was probably granted, with the lance, to the German youths, yet the custom must have become modified in the days of Clovis and Dagobert. On every occasion, that the shield has occurred in our Frankish cemeteries, it was always with a stalwart warrior, who often also bore a sword. (*Sépultures Gauloises, Romaines, Franques, et Normandes*, p. 225.) The small lance, or *framea*, on the contrary, is found with youths not having shields.

Buckles were not wanting; and for all of these it would indeed be difficult to account. I first obtained a handsome square buckle of tinned bronze, bright as silver (fig. 3). This buckle was new, and had seen but very little service. Its purpose evidently was to fasten the belt, which no doubt was of leather, or of skin. A second bronze buckle, also square, but very small (fig. 5), was found in the same spot, and may have served to attach the knife to the belt by means of a strap. Besides these there were two iron buckles, one of which was covered with remains of rusted leather: also one of the rings so common in Frankish interments, but the use of which I have not been able to make out. From minute observation I feel convinced this one must have been attached to a leather strap destroyed by rust. Traces of friction on the iron circle point out the place where this moveable fastening once played. By these was the end of an iron chain, composed of three rings only, one of which was much larger than the others. It resembles a belt attachment, but I am not aware of its real purpose.

Though it is not possible to arrive at the precise purpose to which these articles were applied, it is plain enough they formed an important part of the costume and clothing of our forefathers.

In the same place we further found a purse-clasp on the right of the body, just below the top of the femur. This clasp is one of the rarest and most interesting objects we have ever met with (fig. 7). Such purses, or *aumônières*, are not commonly found with the dead at this period. In the five hundred graves I have examined at Envermeu I may have met with seven or eight of iron, and one of gold. This last was found during the past year at the girding-place of a warrior, interred with a lance, an angon, a shield, an axe, a sword, as also a set of weights and scales, indicative, perhaps, of a fiscal agent, or a moneyer. In this case the clasp is of bronze, and the first of the sort we have yet found. The clasps discovered in Anglo-Saxon graves have been mostly of iron.^a I know no example at all like this, except the one discovered in 1846 in the Alemannic cemetery of Lupfen, at Oberflacht,^b in Würtemberg; but it is far less decorated and engraved.

The Envermeu clasp is three inches and a half long, by about half an inch broad, and is covered with incised ornamental designs. In the middle is a hollow, of a quatre-foil form, probably once filled with enamel. At intervals are four groups, composed of three concentric circles, and arranged in lines. We further observe six holes pierced through the plate of metal. These holes, whether round, trian-

^a *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iii. p. 16.—*Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 42.

^b *Die Heidengräber am Lupfen bei Oberflacht*, p. 9, pl. x. fig. 11.

gular, or polygonal, are set with glass lined with foil, as was the custom of the time. Below the centre of the clasp are two bronze hooks, with a small buckle attached, which probably received the strap by which the purse was closed. The clasp, when discovered, was inclosed in some decomposed substance, which appeared to have been partly woven, and partly of leather. Even now it is easy to recognise the trace of a fine woven cloth.

It must more especially be observed that each end of the clasp represents the head of a bird of prey. The eyes and the nostrils of the animal are formed by glass setting, while the buckle figures out the talons, or claws. It may here be observed that these zoo-morphic representations were frequent, and highly prized in Merovingian times, as decorations in coloured glass. We have already had an opportunity of noticing this peculiarity in the purse-clasp, ornamented with red glass set in gold, which was found at Envermeu in 1855^a (fig. 8), and we feel convinced King Childeric carried such a one to the grave with him, judging from the sketch preserved by Chiflet, though he was in error as to the nature of the relic.^b

By the left thigh I found eight bronze buttons with pentagonal heads (fig. 4), which had once been plated or carefully tinned over, for they still retain their brightness. Strangely enough the heads were of bronze, but the points iron. These points were designed to pass through very thick leather, remains of which were still adhering. In our opinion this leather was that of the belt. The bright nails were the terminal ornaments, as also some little plates or scales of bronze (fig. 6), which may have formed the fringe of the cords. The circumstance of plates of bronze being used for the decorative termination of the belt is common enough in Switzerland and in Savoy.^c

Our last discovery was that of two tusks of the wild boar. One of these lay between the upper part of the legs, the other by the feet of the deceased, near the heel. What may be understood by these tusks, or to what they may refer, we cannot explain. The most natural interpretation is that they are the emblems of a hunter—a very common profession, not to say the general one, of those times. This is not the first time such an object has occurred in a Frankish cemetery. During our researches at Envermeu in 1852^d we found a boar's tusk, and we know that Herr Lindenschmit met with a similar one in a warrior's grave at Selzen.^e It was worked and bored at the root, which shows it had been worn as

^a Sépultures Gauloises, etc., p. 268.

^b Anastasis Childerici, p. 226.

^c Gosse. Notice sur d'Anciens Cimetières, etc., pl. i. fig. 2, pl. v. fig. 2.

^d La Normandie Souterraine, p. 375.

^e Das Germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen, p. viii.

a decoration by the deceased, and formed part of his dress; but the tusks from Envermeu present no trace of man's industry. The one found in 1852 merely bears a stain of rust in its hollow.

The wild boar abounded in ancient Gaul, and primitive France. Archæology meets with the tusks and bones in the most ancient fortified inclosures;^a in cities as well as villas;^b in interments, whether Gallo-Roman or Frankish.^c The form of this ferocious but valuable animal is found on the most ancient coins of Gaul.^d The earliest and most authentic historians of Gaul and France^e celebrate its flesh, and mention of it is made in the laws of the Salic Franks, the Burgundians, Ripuarians, and Bavarians.

Whenever the remains of the denizens of the forest occur in interments the idea of a hunter is naturally associated with them. Such was the case on the discovery of a stag's horns in a Frankish grave at Envermeu^f in 1850; again in a Gaulish grave at Moulineaux, near Rouen,^g in 1855; and in 1810 in England, when a Saxon grave was discovered at Dale Park, near Arundel.^h These relics are considered, and with great probability, as the trophies of our primitive Nimrods.

A circumstance which has much surprised us, and which indeed may well surprise any reader well versed in Merovingian or Anglo-Saxon archæology, is that of not finding a vase or vessel of any sort at the feet of the deceased, for the rich character of the interment seemed to promise a fine example. This exception to the rule is certainly not the only one we could cite, but still it is an exception.

L'ABBÉ COCHET.

^a À la Cité de Limes. Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. p. 52.

^b À Rotomagus; à Uggate; à Juliobona; à Mediolanum, etc L'Étrétat Souterrain, 2^e série, p. 9. De Caumont, Bulletin Monumental, t. xx. pp. 406, 612.

^c Langlois, Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t. iv. pp. 236—52, pl. xx. fig. C.

^d Ed. Lambert; Essai sur le Num. Gaul. de Nord-Ouest de la France; Mem. de la Soc. des Ant. de Norm. t. xiii. p. 184.

^e Carnibus suillinis tum recentibus tum salitis utuntur.—Strabo, lib. iv. Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 45.

^f La Normandie Souterraine, p. 376.

^g Sépultures Gauloises, &c. p. 20.

^h Archæol. Journal, vol. ii. p. 81.



All of Actual size.

CELTIKIAN REMAINS.

from the Cemetery of Envermeu.

To J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A.

U. University Club, Jan. 20, 1857.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Abbé Cochet is so anxious to communicate the foregoing paper to the Society that, in compliance with his wish, I have attempted the translation. This interment, indeed, seems to have attracted the Abbé's attention in a very peculiar manner; and of the many hundreds of Merovingian graves which have undergone his careful examination in the cemeteries of Envermeu, Londinières, &c., this is the first on which he has bestowed a monograph. The remarkably perfect condition of the interment—"cum grandibus ornamentis"—affords, indeed, a valuable illustration of the manners, and state of art, of the dark period subsequent on the sunset of Roman elegance and civilization in Gaul. Something of this will be perceived from the accurate sketches upon the table, supplied, at my request, by the kindness of my friend Mr. Wilmer.

Some points of the Abbé's remarkable and interesting narrative of this discovery appear to call for a few additional remarks.

The rich setting of red glass, which covers the entire surface of one of the purse clasps, is peculiarly an artistic effort of the Merovingian period (fig. 8); indeed we meet with it on the relics found in a tomb at Tournay, in 1653, attributed to Childeric, the Frankish prince, and father of Clovis. Of this kind of ornamental decoration some splendid examples were found, a few years since, in the tombs in the vicinity of Rambouillet, by M. Moutié: others, again, exist in the public museum at Rheims, in the forms of fibulæ, and clasps of the belt which formed so conspicuous and essential a part of Merovingian costume.

The discovery of this purse-clasp by M. Cochet at Envermeu enables us, as he justly observes, to recognise a similar object—till now perfectly unintelligible—among the engravings Montfaucon^a has bequeathed us of the various relics discovered in the tomb of Childeric. The fragmentary state in which the relic was first seen by Chiflet, the historian of the discovery, led him to misinterpret it as part of the royal bridle ornaments.^b

The zoo-morphic terminal ornaments of the points seem peculiar to the Franks. Fibulæ, representing eagles, or at least hook-billed birds of the falcon tribe, are frequently met with in the cemeteries of the Salic Franks in France and Belgium,

^a Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française, vol. i. pl. 5.

^b "Phaleræ regii equi." Anastasis Childerici.

as also in those of the Ripuarians, on the Upper Rhine, and the Moselle. A few examples, indeed, of this red glass ornamental work have been found in England,^a and attributed, no doubt very correctly, to Merovingian art: of this character were the purse ornaments found in Hampshire in 1828, together with a mass of Merovingian coins. The provisions of the early laws of most of the Teutonic nations^b are sufficiently convincing of the importance in which the goldsmith's art was held, and Asser tells us that King Alfred, even among his many efforts at national improvements, did not scorn to superintend the labours of his workers in gold.

The other purse-clasp (fig. 7), it will be observed, is a work of art of another character. Here, a plain plate of metal is merely ornamented with the red glass setting to give sufficient effect to the usual zoo-morphic device. The central setting is wanting. The quatrefoil form of its chambers seems a favourite one, often adopted at this early period.^c

The term clasp, which I have applied to these decorative objects, though convenient, is hardly correct: they merely consist of a single bar, or plate, of metal, to which we must suppose the back of the purse, or pouch, to have been attached, the front having been open to the hand, or closed by a strap and the buckle, which, as will be seen, still exists. When we find all the implements of Teutonic life so generally accompanying their owners to the grave, whence they picture out to us now almost all we know of their habits, it is remarkable how seldom we meet with the purse, or sporran, which, in those times, must have been the inseparable appendage of every man's girdle.^d In the 500 graves of Envermeu, examined with every care, the Abbé Cochet tells us he has not met with more than ten examples in all, while in England only one or two hitherto have been noticed, and those were of iron. In no case, I believe, have any coins been discovered with these remains of purses, as might have been expected. The ready money was, perhaps, deemed more profitably employed on the funeral feasts.

The jewelled ear-rings (fig. 2) afford another specimen of Merovingian art and the costume of those times. The salient tubes, set with pastes or enamel, will often

^a Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 66, pl. 33.—Num. Chron. vol. vi. p. 71.

^b "Qui aurificum occiderit electum, centum quinquaginta solid. solvat." "Si argentarium c. solid."—Leg. Burgundionum, tit. x. 3. ed. Herold.

^c It will also be noticed in a fibula given in plate xxxii. of "Remains of Pagan Saxondom," and attributed by Mr. Akerman to the Merovingian period; Graves of the Alemanni, *Archæologia*, vol. XXXVI. pl. xiv. fig. 4.

^d Some historical evidence as to this portion of the early Merovingian costume is adduced in the Abbé Cochet's recent work, "Sépultures Gauloises," &c. St. Eloy seems to have delighted in jewelled purses: "Habebat zonas ex duro et gemmis comptas, nec non et bursas eleganter gemmatas."

be observed among the showy productions of the Frank workers in gold and silver, preserved in continental museums. Our unfortunate dearth in published illustrations of objects of Merovingian archæology merely allows me to refer to one example,—the rich Alemannic fibula found at Oberflacht.^a

The compact mass of lignite, in which we are told the body was found embedded, could not possibly have proceeded from the decomposed remains of any common coffin. Such a mass I remember to have seen in a grave at Envermeu,^b on the occasion of one of my visits there with M. Cochet. I believe these masses to have been the remains of the solid oaks, in the hollowed-out trunks of which these Franks had found their last resting-place.

This remarkable sepulchral usage dates probably from remote antiquity, and the memory of it is still preserved, in some parts of Germany and Switzerland, in the words *todtenbaum* and *todtabomm*, which are there still applied to the coffins of the dead.^c The researches of Captain von Dürrieh^d in the Suabian valley of Oberflacht, near the Upper Danube, have afforded us the most complete and convincing illustrations of the accustomed practice of the rite of tree-burial.

The relics found in this Envermeu interment are indeed so contradictory that we can well understand the embarrassment of our learned colleague in attempting a correct attribution. We cannot but regret that it is no longer possible to settle the question of the sex of the deceased by an actual inspection of the remains by some experienced anatomist. The spear, it is true, as the Abbé well observes, would induce us to decide for a male ownership: but the ear-rings, the beaded necklace, the diminutive purse-ornament, as also the chainlet by the side, so significant of the chatelaine, are all the indisputable insignia of the female sex. The old Thuringian^e law, indeed, expressly recognises these "*ornamenta muliebria*," or "*spolia colli*," as the peculiar right and heritage of women; and I believe the general experience of sepulchral researches will endorse the assertion that a similar usage prevailed among the other Teutonic nations. The subject before us, unfortunately, combines the attributes of either sex; and, in the absence of all anatomical opinion, we are at a loss whether to attribute the inter-

^a Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. pp. 137, 148, pl. xiv. figs. 4, 7.

^b Archæol. vol. XXXV. p. 224.

^c Dr. J. Grimm. "Über das verbrennen der Leichen." Berlin, 1850.

^d Jahreshefte des Württembergischen Alt-Vereins iii.—Archæologia, vol. XXXVI. p. 129.

^e *De Alodibus*, tit. vii. c. 6. "Mater moriens filio terram, mancipio pecuniam dimittat, filiæ vero spolia colli, id est, murenas, nuscas, monilia, inaures, vestes, armillas, vel quicquid ornamenti proprii videbat habuisse." Again, *De Furtis*, tit. viii. c. 3. "Qui ornamenta muliebria, quod *rhedo* dicunt, furto abstulerit," &c.

ment to some Merovingian Camilla—a votaress of the Diana of the sylvan region of Envermeu—or to some effeminate boy, the type rather of the debased Teutonic *bædling*^a than of the stern warriors of Clovis. All the evidence we possess on this singular question has been adduced, and archæologists must now determine to which side the weight of probability inclines, and draw their own conclusions.

Supposing, however, the young subject of the Abbé Cochet's most interesting memoir to have been a young hunter—a very Adonis—we cannot allow the mere presence of the boar's tusks in the grave to prove the fact. It too often happens in archæology, from the very nature of our study, that we have to investigate, and seek inductions, on the most uncertain data; but it is, therefore, the more incumbent on us to exercise the utmost caution in our conclusions.

The teeth of animals, and the tusks of the boar, do indeed occur in graves, both in their plain natural form and pierced for suspension, either as ornaments or for some other purpose. The presence of such objects is often quite incomprehensible, unless we are prepared to suppose Teutonic superstition was wont to impute some occult benefit to the personal possession of such reliques. A reference to some few instances of the occurrence of these objects in interments may perhaps show that they are at least as likely to have been regarded as amulets as trophies of the chase.

On referring to the valuable narrative of Herr Lindenschmit's researches at Selzen, I observe that the boar's tusk, cited in evidence by the Abbé in support of his theory, was found there in the grave of *a woman*.^b Again, among the Saxon or Scandinavian remains in a *woman's* grave found at Castle Bytham, near Stamford,^c in 1850, we observe the incisor tooth of a beaver, mounted on silver for suspension, as also a horse's tooth, pierced for the same purpose. Mr. C. R. Smith also mentions the finding a boar's tusk, mounted in bronze for suspension, among the remains of Richborough.^d We can scarcely suppose these examples to have been worn as trophies. The Livonian graves furnish further instances,^e and a yet more convincing testimony of the amuletic character of the custom occurs in the Museum Schœpflini,^f where the knuckle-bone of a sheep, pierced for suspension, is represented among the contents of a Frankish grave. A similar bone, not pierced, was found in one of the Harnham interments.^g

^a Leo on Local Nomenclature. Alcuin. Pœnitentiale Ecgb. lib. iv. 68, § 5, 6. Tacit. De Mor. Germ. 12.

^b Todtenlager bei Selzen. Grave 8.

^c Remains of Pagan Saxondom, p. 26, pl. xii.

^d Antiquities of Richborough, p. 110.

^f Tab. xv. fig. 14.

^e Bahr's Gräber der Lieven.

^g Archæologia, vol. XXXVI.

A superstitious dread of sorcery, or a propitiative yearning towards it, is always a prevailing feature in the popular habits of dark and ignorant times ; hence, charms and amulets, even of the most absurd description, are at such periods seen to be in extensive demand, whether to avert evil or allure good. The Italian peasant of our own days who hangs a coin, a coral, or, it may be, a written charm round his child's neck in blind belief of its efficacy against the *mal' occhio*, perhaps affords a good type and illustration of the once general faith in the virtues of amulets.

The stylus, (fig. 1.) of which such a fine example now presents itself from Envermeu, is so commonly associated with Roman remains and reminiscences that at first, perhaps, we are little inclined to attach any particular importance to its appearance in a Frankish grave. Regarded, however, as an instrument of science, it acquires a fresh and altogether distinct degree of interest, when we have to mark its frequent presence with the remains of the laity of the dark Merovingian period. In Saxon graves, indeed, the stylus is all but unknown, while very many examples have occurred in the numerous Merovingian, and even Carlovingian, cemeteries in which the Abbé Cochet has so zealously carried on his useful research.

Are we, then, to suppose these persons, in whose graves the styli are found, to have been skilled in the use of them ? Such an inference would be but fair, but it would tend to show an extent of education directly at variance with all the received traditions of the history of the period. All pretensions to letters in those days of aggression and violence were confined to the church and cloister. It does not appear that Charlemagne himself ever mastered the difficulties attendant on attempting the art of writing late in life,^a and our own Alfred only succeeded after considerable trouble.^b Sensible of the general disadvantages under which they themselves had also laboured, both monarchs did their utmost to diffuse a degree of education among their subjects, but the attempt does not appear to have met with any signal success. William of Malmesbury,^c indeed, has recorded the assassination of the celebrated Johannes Scotus at Malmesbury Abbey, while engaged in the task of tuition. His pupils are said to have despatched him with their own styli, in the use of which he was possibly endeavouring to instruct them. It may hence be inferred that at the still earlier period with which we are now

^a Einhard, c. 25. "Temptabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicellos ad hoc in lecto sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum litteris effingendis adsuesceret ; sed parum successit labor præposterus, ac sero inchoatus."

^b Asser. Pauli.

^c L. ii. c. 4 ; Matthew of Westminster, c. xvi.

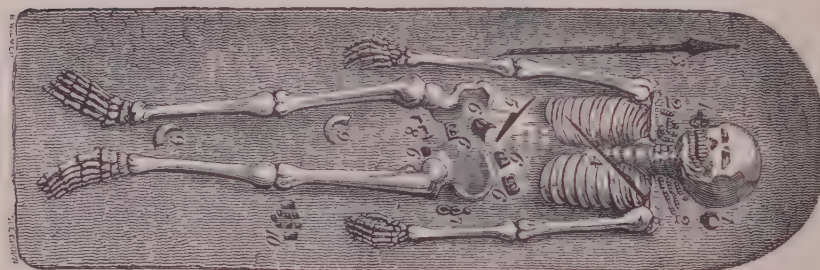
concerned, the stylus, as a stylus, must have been in little request, and that it only appears in these graves as an article of dress.

From other communications of the Abbé Cochet we learn that the styli have usually been found in the interments by the head or on the breast of the remains. This fact confirms, or at least materially strengthens, the foregoing suspicion that the styli had been diverted from their original use. We may suppose them to have been employed as pins to decorate the hair, or to fasten together some part of the dress, a purpose for which these slender styli of Envermeu are not ill-adapted. It is also somewhat significant that no traces of writing tablets appear to have been found with the stylus.

It is evident from the tradition of the death of Johannes Scotus that this old mode of writing still continued in use in the ninth century; indeed, there is evidence of its existence down to a much later period.

Believe me, sincerely yours,

W. M. WYLIE.



The Interment.

IX. *An Account of the Discovery of Anglo-Saxon Remains at Kemble, in North Wilts; with Observations on a Grant of Land at Ewelme to the Abbey of Malmesbury by King Æthelstan, in the year 931.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Secretary.

Read 20th Nov. 1856.

IN the month of July last, while engaged in some antiquarian inquiries on the borders of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, I accidentally heard of the discovery of sepulchral remains in the village of Kemble. Convinced from the account I then received, that these relics were of the Anglo-Saxon period, I lost no time in proceeding to Kemble, where I obtained abundant proof of the discovery, and a sufficient description of the objects discovered, to satisfy me that my conjectures were well founded.

My application to make further search on the spot was met in the most courteous manner by R. Gordon, Esq., the owner of the Kemble estate, who kindly presented to me the various objects now on the Society's table. It is much to be deplored that they comprise but a small portion of what were originally discovered. For an account of the finding, and for the preservation of the contents of these graves, we are indebted to the zeal and intelligence of Mr. John Mansell, Mr. Gordon's bailiff. He states that there were in all twenty-six interments; that the bodies lay east and west; that they were found scarcely six inches below the surface, and were all of persons of large stature, their weapons and personal ornaments being deposited in the manner usually observable in Anglo-Saxon graves. The spot where these remains were discovered being occupied by a house and garden, a portion of the field adjoining it on the south was carefully trenched, but the ground appeared not to have been moved, and it was evident the cemetery did not extend in that direction.

The village of Kemble is situated on an eminence, about four miles south-west of the town of Cirencester, towards which the hill slopes down to the rivulet of the Thames, which has its rise a little to the west. The site chosen by the ancient inhabitants for their cemetery is about two or three hundred yards north of the railway station, commanding a view of the source of the stream, whose onward course may be likened to that of the race to which these early remains must be ascribed.

The objects exhibited are :—

1. Umbones of iron, of different forms, the point or projection of one of them terminating in a button or stud.

2. Spear-heads of the ordinary shape, with their characteristic sockets.

3. A long hair-pin of bronze.

4. The bronze mounting of a hair-pin, the stem of which has perished.

No. 5.



Actual size.

5. Two fibulæ of the dish form, gilt on the inside, and ornamented with a pattern not hitherto observed on Anglo-Saxon fibulæ, but somewhat resembling that on the fibula found at Stone, Bucks, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx. p. 545.

6. A dish-shaped fibula of bronze gilt, with a pattern resembling that on the fibulæ discovered at Fairford.

7. The shells of two fibulæ, which had been filled with pastes, of which examples were discovered at Fairford and at Harnham. See *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. pl. x. fig. 4, and vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 9.

8. A flat circular fibula, ornamented with circles made with a punch.

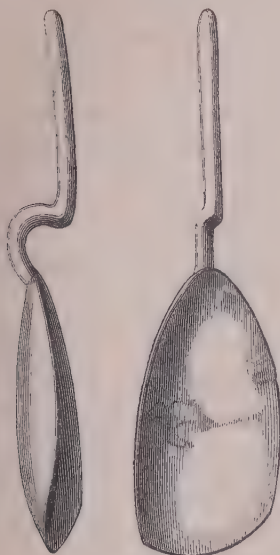
9. A portion of a bronze spoon, the bowl much worn by use.

10. A bronze ear-ring, a flat bone bead, and a small brass coin of Carausius of the *Pax* type.

With the exception of the fragment of the *spoon*, these objects do not offer any peculiarities: their general character assimilates, as might be expected, to that of the relics discovered at Fairford. The coin of Carausius is not a novelty in these interments. The not unfrequent occurrence of his money in Anglo-Saxon graves may probably be explained by the fact, that that personage was a Batavian, a man of kindred race, who reigned several years in Britain, whose memory must have long survived his fall, and whose daring exploits in a previous age must have been long remembered with pride by every nation of Teutonic blood. I am well aware that Roman coins have been frequently discovered under the same circumstances, but they are, for the most part, of exceedingly common types, while the money of Carausius, even in copper, is somewhat scarce compared with many other coins of the same age.^a

^a This conjecture seems in some measure supported by the fact that the coins of Allectus, the murderer and successor of Carausius, though equally common, are not found so frequently in Anglo-Saxon graves. Mr. Wylie mentions the finding of a small brass coin of Allectus at Fairford, but it was not pierced for suspension.

With respect to the fragment of the spoon, we may infer, from the smallness of the bowl, that it was never designed for the common daily purpose to which it has been applied by its last owner. Its workmanship is Roman, and the metal is bronze, the edge of the bowl being much worn by use.



Actual size.

The earliest mention of Kemble occurs in a cartulary contained in the Lansdowne MS. No. 417, fol. 2 B, in a charter of Caedwealha of Wessex, dated in the month of August, anno 682, conveying “*terram ex utraque parte silvae quae appellatur Kemele, scilicet xxxii cassatos.*” This is printed by Mr. Kemble, in the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, No. xxiv. Another charter of Caedwealha will be found in the same collection, fol. 3. It gives to Saint Aldhelm land “*ex utraque parte silvae cujus vocabulum est Kemele, de orientali plaga termini stratarum, usque famosum amnem qui dicitur Temis, c et xl manentes,*” etc. This instrument is dated the 19th August, anno 688, but, like the former, is a comparatively late transcript; as is also a charter of Æthlwlfr, dated April 22, anno 854, giving to the same religious establishment “*æt Cemele tien hyda.*” (*Cod.*

Dipl., No. cclxxi.) In 901, Ordlafr, “*pro commutatione alterius terrae, id est, v. manentium in loco qui dicitur Mehhandun,*” gives certain lands at Chelworth, and, in the recital of the land-limits, mention is made of twelve acres which lie westward of “*Kemele gate.*” In 956, Eadwig gives to the church at Malmesbury a large tract of land, which extends northward as far as “*Kemeles hage.*” (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. cccclx.) The charter of Eádweard confirms these with other grants. (*Cod. Dipl.*, No. dcccxvii.) The charter of Æthelstan, dated in the year 931, is, however, the most important for our purpose, as the land-limits are appended to it: it gives to the abbey of Malmesbury fifteen mansas in the district called Northun or Nortun, five mansas in Somerford, and five mansas at Æwilme.^a The land-limits of the latter place are thus described:—

“*Hii sunt termini terrae de Ewlme. Inprimis de hencofre usque Perestone; et inde usque lydewelle; et ab illo fonte usque stratam quae vocatur Fosse; et sic usque wolu crundel, videlicet, usque la hore stone; et ab eodem usque lytle berwe; et ab illo loco usque zunte stone; et ab eodem directe versus occidentem*

^a MS. Lansd. printed in the *Codex Diplom. Ævi Saxonici*, vol. ii. p. 179. The land-limits are given in vol. iii. p. 408.

usque la dicke walle; et sic per fossatum directe usque in rivulo de Tamyse, directe usque le holde uille dicke versus austrum; et ab eodem versus occidentem usque la est lake brugge in litle more versus meridiem; et inde directe usque le mere dicke; et ab eodem fossato versus aquilonem directe per viam usque ad locum primo scriptum, uidelicet, le ofre in Perestone. Item ad terram prænominatam pertinent xxiii acrae prati quae quidem iacent in feor more; et decem acrae terrae arabilis quae iacent in biken hulle; et xvi acrae et wið bosci in la graue quae appellatur scefernus graue inter Pole et Kemele. Item praedicta villa habere debet in eodem prato communem pasturam, uidelicet, quae ymene morlese appellatur, cum aliis villatis, scilicet, Somerforde, Pole et Kemele."

From this recital it would appear that Kemble, or as it was anciently called Cemele, was included in Æwilme, the former name being that of the wood or grove within the district.

Æwilme obviously derives its name from one of the springs which rise in this neighbourhood, and this must be the one known as "Thames Head," since the field in which it is situated is called "Yeoing Field." The parish of Ewelme, in Oxfordshire, is in old writing styled "New Elme," but Æwilme is its proper Saxon designation, *i.e.* a spring. Leland stumbles at the name, and his derivation need not be quoted. The Norman scribes were often sorely puzzled in the writing of names which even at this time defy our own orthography; hence they sometimes wrote the Oxfordshire Ewelme, "Lawelme," in a vain attempt to give the proper pronunciation. The sound of the first syllable of Ewen, as the Wiltshire Æwilme is now called, is perceptible in the older name of Yeoing, as it is still styled by the peasantry of the district.

It will be seen by reference to the map which I have prepared to accompany this notice, (Pl. III.) that a chapel once stood at the eastern extremity of Ewen. A tradition exists in the neighbourhood that this edifice was destroyed long beyond the memory of man, and that the materials contributed to form the south aisle of Kemble church, which is still called "the Ewen aisle." Near it rises a most beautiful spring of water. Here, doubtless, were celebrated the heathen rites of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers, until the Christian priesthood consecrated the spot, when a chapel was founded, and the spring dedicated to a saint.

The ecclesiastical canons failed to overcome this deep-seated reverence for wells and fountains. Those of King Eadgar were enacted in vain, and the most poetical of all the rites of heathenism continued to be observed in after ages, though veiled under another name. The custom of well-dressing is still observed, among other places, in the village of Tissington, in Derbyshire. The observance of silence at



MAP ILLUSTRATING A GRANT OF LAND AT EWEN AND KEMBLE,
to the Abbey of Malmesbury by King Æthelstan, anno 931.
Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, April 23rd 1857.

these sources shews the deep reverence with which they were regarded. When Saint Willibrord invaded the sanctuary of the god Fossete in Friesland, he broke the spell by baptizing a convert at the fountain dedicated to that divinity, at which no one was allowed to draw water except in silence.^a The same sentiment was observed by the Romans, as may be seen in the inscription given by Grivaud de la Vincelle,—*NYMPHIS LOCI BIBE LAVA TACE.*^b

On referring to the land-limits appended to the grant of Æthelstan, it will be observed that they commence with the "Hencofre," a word signifying both an overhanging bank and an upland. The locality here indicated which appears to retain some of its ancient features, having probably never been under cultivation, was perhaps a pasture for hogs. It is intersected by the Thames and Severn canal north of Ewen.

"Ofer" signifies also a shore or bank of a river; but this would not apply to our locality, which is situated at some distance to the north of the stream. Mr. Kemble observes that we have an oblique form of the word in Heanyfre; thus in the Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. No. cciv. vol. i. p. 258, we find in the land-limits of a charter of Coenvulf, A.D. 814, "*Haec sunt nomina pastuum porcorum, helfreðingdenn, hunbealding hola, frumesing leah, burnesstedesdenn heanyfre,*" etc.^c

"Perestone" may be accepted for Perestūn (Preostes-tun?) and probably designated a homestead, the memory of which survives in "the Peazons" or "Peaston." The road running north from Ewen is called "Peaston Lane."

"Lydwell" derives its name from a spring called by the country people "Liddell." The locality is indicated on the map.

The "Fosse" is, of course, the Roman road leading from Cirencester.

The "wolucrundel" is the far-famed source of the Thames.

The "Horestone" stands, and appears to have stood since the day on which the charter was subscribed by Æthelstan and his court, a few yards above the spring, just without the boundary wall of the "Fossway." Of its antiquity there can be no doubt. I exhibit a sketch of it in situ. It will be seen that it has been adapted to the purposes of a horse-block or "upping-stock." Here, doubtless, travellers in old times halted to refresh themselves and their beasts, the Fossway not being then inclosed. When Leland took his journey from Cirencester to Malmesbury, he passed this spring. In his Itinerary he says, "First I roode about

^a Vita St. Ludgeri, lib. I. apud Script. Brunswic. ed. Leibnit. tom. I. ed. Hanov. 1710; et Acta Sanctorum, tom. III. c. x. p. 566.

^b Arts et Metiers des Anciens, planche lxxiv.

^c "Yfre" occurs in another charter of Æthelstan, No. cccliii. Codex Dipl. Ævi Saxon. vol. ii. p. 172.

a mile on Fosse, then I turnid on the lift hand, and cam al by champayne grounde, fruteful of corne and grasse, but very little wood.”^a

The “Lytle Berwe.” I am unable to offer more than a conjecture as to this spot, but it is probable that it is to be traced in the rising ground, in a line with the Foss road a short distance southward. A circle of ancient thorns still stands there, and might have afforded shelter to cattle in old times when the land was unin-closed. In the dialect of North Wilts, to “get into the Bur” is to get into a place of shelter from the wind.

The “zunt stone” I take to be a large pyramidal stone which formerly stood on the spot known as “Kemble head,” and which was removed from its place a few years ago when the toll-gate was erected there. The name is an enigma to me, unless it is the chirographer’s orthography for “shunt stone,” or pillar placed where the road deviates. To shunt a train, in well known railway phraseology, is to direct it on to another line of rails. If this be not the true meaning, I am unable to offer a better; unfortunately, the language in which the cartulary containing these land-limits is transcribed is of a much later date than the grant, and, though there can be no doubt of their authenticity, they are much less intelligible than if written in the pure Anglo-Saxon in which they were first dictated.^b When I visited the spot, this stone was lying under the wall near the toll-gate, but I have reason to believe it will soon be restored to its former resting-place.

Here identity fails us. The southern boundary of the grant is, however, traced by a somewhat tortuous course until it reaches the Thames, proceeding thence to the locality first named, viz. the Hencofre in Perestone.

We have now to identify the localities named in the Appendix to these land-limits.

The first mentioned is the twenty-three acres of meadow land lying in “feor more.” These, by a concord between the Abbot of Malmsbury and the men of Ewelme on the one part, and Robert Fitzpayn, Lord of Poole,^c and the men of that village on the other part, appear to be situated on the western side of Poole, and to extend as far as the Malmesbury Road, or Iter Regium as it is termed in that instrument, a copy of which is appended.

“Bikenhulle” appears to be the rising ground above the well-known spot

^a Itinerary, vol. ii. p. 24, ed. 1744.

^b In a cartulary of Malmesbury Abbey in the British Museum (Add. MSS. No. 15,667), we find “*zunyte* stone,” but this affords no better clue to the real meaning.

^c Robert Fitzpayn was summoned to Parliament 14th Edw. III.

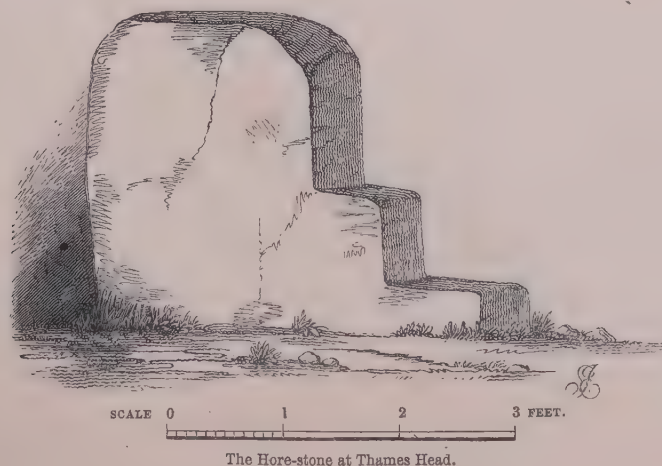
called "Bitnum Spring" by the country people.^a The real name, however, is "Bicknam Spring;" and I am informed that it is thus designated in the Court Rolls of Somerford, to which parish it was "presented as a watering-place centuries past." Mr. G. F. Newmarch, of Cirencester, to whom I am indebted for assistance in the compilation of the accompanying map, as well as for a sketch of the Hoare-Stone, informs me that in a deed of the year 1801 the meadow below the spring is called "Bickenham Mead," and that in the Inclosure Award the lands above are all called "Bickenhams."

The locality designated "Scefernus grave," or grove, is too clearly indicated to be mistaken. Some large oaks and thorns are the sole remains of the wood which at the time of the grant, and doubtless for many centuries afterwards, covered this spot.^b It was probably the offering place of our heathen Saxon forefathers, and the scene of human sacrifices to Woden. This grove probably extended as far as the village of Poole, where the remains of a cross stands at the intersection of the roads. Though comparatively modern, it probably succeeded a more ancient erection, which obliterated while it interdicted the observance of unhallowed rites.

While engaged in tracing the boundaries of Kemble and Ewen, I was informed by Mr. Mansell that, about twenty years ago, when stone was dug on the right hand side of the road leading to Kemblehead, many skeletons were discovered, accompanied by relics similar to those already described. These objects were dispersed and lost, but the fact of their being found is indisputable. The spot is indicated on the map, and furnishes another proof of the early occupation of this interesting district by Anglo-Saxon settlers.

^a It is so called in Andrews' and Drury's Map, but is not mentioned in the Ordnance Survey.

^b In the "*Valor Ecclesiasticus*," vol. ii. p. 122, Leonard White is mentioned as Bailiff and Keeper of the Woods of Bremill and Kemell.



EXTRACT from a CARTULARY of the ABBEY of MALMESBURY, preserved in the Stone Tower adjoining Westminster Hall, in the Custody of the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls, pursuant to the Statute 1 and 2 Vic. cap. 94.

Concordia inſ Abbtem Malſm ꝛ Robtū fit Paḡ dñm de Pole.

Nouerint uniuersi quod cum contentio mota esset inſ dñm Wiltm Abbtem Malmesb ꝛ eiusdem loci Conuentum ex parte vna ꝛ Robtum filium Pagani dominū de Pole ex altera sup appropriacione soli illius more que uocatur Ferremore tandem ex discretorum uirorum consilio pax in hunc modum reformata est uidelicet quod predci Abbas ꝛ Conuentus pro se ꝛ successoribꝫ suis ꝛ hominibꝫ suis de Ewelme ꝛ predcs Robertus pro se ꝛ heredibꝫ ꝛ assignatis suis ꝛ eciam hominibꝫ suis de Pole concesserunt quod solum predce more a fossato Fre de Pole usqꝫ ad iſ regium quod uocatur strete p bundas ꝛ diuisas p iuros fidedignos equaliter in duas partes diuidatur ꝛ illa pars soli predce more que iacet uersus orientem ꝛ ſusus domum Wilti Vincent predcis Abbtis ꝛ Conuentui ꝛ eorum successoribꝫ ꝛ eciam hominibꝫ eorum de Ewelme quieta ꝛ soluta remaneat imppetuū sine aliqua contradcōne seu reclamaōne predci Robti nſ heredum seu assignatorum suoz nſ eciam hominum suorum de Pole ꝛ altera pars soli predce more que iacet ſusus occidentem predco Robto ꝛ heredibꝫ seu assignatis suis ꝛ eciam hominibꝫ suis de Pole remaneat imppetuum. modo consimili put bunde ibidem posite que diuidunt predcam moram plenius demonstrant. Ita tam quod pdictus Robtus ꝛ heredes sui ꝛ homines sui de Pole ꝛ eciam homines predcorum Abbtis ꝛ Conuentus de Ewelme habeant cōmunam suam cum omnimodis ꝛ omnibꝫ aſiis suis in toto solo illius more ex utraqꝫ parte predce diuise ad uoluntatem eoz imppetuum. Predci eciam Abbas et Conuentus pro se ꝛ successoribꝫ suis ꝛ predcs Robtus pro se ꝛ heredibꝫ suis concesserunt quod quodam^a pars illius more singulis annis a festo annunciaōnis b uirginis usqꝫ ad beati Petri quod dicitur aduincula tam de parte predcorum Abbtis ꝛ Conuentus q^m de parte predci Robti ꝛ heredum suoz pporcionalitꝫ per uisum hominum de Ewelme ꝛ de Pole ponatur indefenso ad aſia sua depascenda. uidelicꝫ ad equos boues uaccas bouiculos ꝛ uitulos scdm quod sibi melius uiderint expedire. Et totum ressiduum illius more nō indefenso positum remaneat ad cetera aſia ociosa depascenda. Et si aſia hominum de Pole in partem soli illius more que indefenso posita fuit ꝛ spectans ad predcos Abtem ꝛ Conuentum ꝛ homines suos de Ewelme intrauint Concessit predcs Robs pro se ꝛ heredibꝫ suis quod aſia possint impkari ꝛ quod predci homines sui de Pole predcis Abbtis ꝛ Conuentui ꝛ eorum successoribꝫ rationabiles emendas scdm transgressionem fcam in loco predco faciant. Simili mō predci Abbas ꝛ Cōuentus pro se ꝛ successoribꝫ suis concesserunt quod si aſia predcorum hominum de Ewelme sup partem predcam Robtum ꝛ heredes suos contingentem intrauerint quod pdcā aſia possint impkare ꝛ emendas rationabiles capere scdm formam supius concessam. Concessum est eciam a predcis Abbe ꝛ Conuentu ꝛ a predco Robto pro se ꝛ heredibꝫ suis quod homines^b homies de Ewellme ꝛ de Pole neant libam chaciam eorum cum aſiis suis p predcam moram usqꝫ ad locum ubi pars more predce in defenso posita fuerit ad aſia eorum de pascenda sine aliquo impedimento predcoꝫ Abbtis ꝛ Con-

^a Sic.

^b Sic, pro omnes.

uentus ut successorum suorum ut hominum suorum de Evelme ut pred̃ci Roḡti ut heredū suorum seu assignatorum suoꝝ ut etiam hominum suoꝝ de Pole. Liceat etiam pred̃cis Abb̃ti ⁊ Conuentui ⁊ eorum successoribꝫ aueria extraneoꝝ hominum in parte pred̃ce more ad eos spectante inuenta impkare ⁊ de eisdem rationabiles emendas capere. Liceat etiam eodem m^o pred̃co Roḡto ⁊ heredibꝫ suis p̃ aliis ext^{ra}aneoꝝ hominum in parte pred̃ce more ad ip̃m Roḡtum spectante impkatis emendas capere rationabiles. Concessit etiam pred̃cs Roḡs p̃ se ⁊ heredibꝫ suis q̃d pred̃ci homines de Evelme possint h̃re chaciā suā ad aūia sua cōmoda ⁊ omnia ūsus pred̃cām morā chaciēda p̃ t̃ram suā que uocatur estdroue. Ita tamen quod morā in eadem faciendo pasturā illā n̄ depascant quod si fecint pred̃ci Abbas ⁊ Conuentus pro se ⁊ successoribꝫ suis concesserunt quod Roḡs ⁊ heredes sui ip̃a aūia possint impkare ⁊ rationabiles emendas inde capere. In cui⁹ rei testimonium hoc scriptum biptitum inter partes est confectum ⁊ sigillis p̃cium al̃ñatim appensis roboratum. Hiis testibus ⁊ cetera.

X. *On Choirs and Chancels, particularly as to their use in the South of Europe.*
By ARTHUR ASHPITEL, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 15, 1857.

THERE is scarcely anything more perplexing to the architect in building churches in the revived medieval style than the treatment of the chancel. If he knows anything of, or has any feeling for, Gothic art, he must know how bad, in every point of view, a small or short chancel is. Very few ancient examples are less than one-third of the total length of the building, while in very many the chancel is quite as long as the nave. If the architect follows these proportions, and complies with a notion which has been lately promulgated, and which we shall presently have to examine, that the laity should not be allowed to enter the chancel, then he is told that he has built a church one-third of which is useless; that a large portion of the service is read at such a distance that people cannot hear, and that he has wasted money simply to get a good external effect.

At the same time a strange anomaly has sprung up with regard to our cathedrals. Here an idea the very reverse prevails, and, instead of a vacant chancel or choir, the nave is thrown out of use, and the people all huddled into the chancel, so that the utilitarians reproach us with wasting one-third of our churches, and three-fourths of our cathedrals.

Impressed with these circumstances, it was natural on a late visit to Italy that I should endeavour to observe all the usages and practices, and collect all the traditions that I could, with regard to choirs and chancels. The facts that came under my notice seemed so different to what I had expected to find, and the traditions seemed so novel, that, although in such a learned Society as this, I must expect they have not wholly escaped notice, I yet think the few remarks I have to make may be of interest, rather as pointing out a way for future investigations than as adding much of my own to our stores.

To inquire more fully into these matters, it would be well to consider for a few moments what the choir was in the early Christian Church; what changes it underwent in the middle ages; and to what uses it is put at this time in Southern Europe.

It will be unnecessary to dwell at length on the subject of the early Christian Church, the whole design of which was derived, not from the pagan temple, as so many have supposed, but from the classic basilica or justice halls. From worshipping in caves and catacombs, the Christians were permitted by wealthy converts to occupy these buildings, which were attached to most great men's houses; and, on the accession of Constantine, so convenient was the form found to be, that a great number were built expressly from that type for Christian worship; and it is said many which then existed were expressly converted to that use.^a

One of these was the Sicinian basilica, which existed in the time of Ciampini, who has given plans and elevations of it in his first volume. This was a simple oblong building, about sixty feet by forty, without columns, at one end of which was a semi-circular apsis or exedra, where in classic times was the *βημα*, "tribunal" or judgment-seat, or, in later times, the throne of the bishop and seats for the presbyters. It was raised three steps, and in the middle of the raised part stood the altar. At the opposite end to the altar was a small porch two stories in height.

The general type of the Roman basilica may be seen by the plan before us. It is that of St. Clement at Rome, which is known to have existed there as early as in the year of our Lord 417, and was probably built by Constantine. As may be seen, it is divided into a nave and side-aisles by columns, has the usual atrium or cloister in front, and a *ναρθήξ*, or porch. I shall not, however, give any further description of these, with which most of our Fellows are probably well acquainted, but shall confine myself to such portions as bear directly on the choir, or *χορος*. And first of the *βημα*, or semi-circular part in which the altar stands; this is always raised above the rest of the church, and extends in some cases, as San Pietro in Vincoli, San Michele in Sassia, &c. only to the chord of the semicircle. In other cases it extends to a pier, or pilaster, a short distance from the apsis, and before the commencement of

^a Ausonius, "*Gratiarum Actio pro Consulatu*," addressed to the Emperor Gratian, says, "*Basilica olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tuâ salute susceptis.*" The 12th Sermon of St. Augustine must have been preached in a basilica formerly belonging to some great man, as it is intitled "*Sermo habitus Carthagini in Basilica Faustiana.*" Ambrose, in his 33rd Epistle to Marcellina, "*de non tradendis Basilicis*," talks of demanding the extramural "*Basilica Portiana.*"

the colonnade, as at the Sessorian, Santa Maria in Trastevere, San Crisogono, the Ara Celi, and others. In other cases it extends down the nave one, two, and even three columns, as at Santa Agnese. The altar generally stands in the middle of this raised platform; but in some cases, as at Santa Sabina, San Marco, San Giorgio in Velabro, and in all the lately restored basilicas, it stands forward at its extreme edge.

Around the semicircle, or apsis, were seats for the presbyters, in the middle of which, of course exactly behind the altar, was the *θρονος* of the bishop. At San Clemente and at San Lorenzo this is also of marble.

In almost all basilicas the priest says mass at the back of the altar, of course facing the people; this was the early Christian practice for the consecration of the elements, and has never been discontinued in these buildings. Under the altar is almost always a "confessione" or "martirio," a sort of inclosure in which the relics of the martyrs or saints are preserved. In many cases these form crypts, which are excessively curious. Where they exist the altar is necessarily raised a great many steps. In others it is always raised at least three steps. In the instance before us, that of San Clemente, the *βημα* is elevated five steps. It is inclosed by a sort of screen, or low wall, of marble, about four feet high, some of the panels of which were perforated like railings, and no doubt were the cancelli, or *κυγκλίδης* of the Greeks.

In front of this is the only perfect specimen of the choir, or "chorus cantantium," of the early Christian Church now existing. This is an inclosure, wall, or podium, of marble, about four feet high, carved with crosses and emblems, and inclosing two pulpits, or ambones, one for reading the Gospel and preaching, the other for reading the Epistle; near the former is the column on which the paschal taper was burned: there is also a smaller desk in front, said to be for the principal cantor, all of marble. In this inclosure^a the chorus sat and sang the Psalms, Hymns, and Doxologies. To the left of the altar, on an elevation like that of the *βημα*, was the senatorium, or place for men of senatorial dignity; to the right a similar place was called the matroneum, and was no doubt intended for women of rank. The floor is paved with beautiful opus Alexandrinum, or that elegant geometrical mosaic said by Lampridius^b to have been invented in the time of Alexander Severus, and to have been called after his name. All is quite perfect, and, though the church has undergone many restorations, it seems quite clear

^a This and the cancelli are indicated by a darker tint in the Plate.

^b Alexandrinum opus marmoris, de duobus marmoribus, hoc est porphyretico et Lacedemonio primus instituit. *Ælius Lamprid.* in vita A. Severi.

that the choir, with its contents and inclosures, stands now exactly as it did in the days of Constantine. To the right and left of the altar are two other apses of later date. These are of early use in the Primitive Church. Paulinus, who was made the Bishop of Nola in 409, writing to Severus as to a church which he was then building, mentions similar recesses (Epist. 12), which he calls *segretaria*, and directs two inscriptions to be placed over them, from which we gather one to be intended as a sacristy to receive the sacred vessels, &c. and the other to hold the books. His words are:—

A dextrâ absidis.

Hic locus est, veneranda penus qua conditur, et qua
Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

A sinistrâ ejusdem.

Si quem sancta tenet meditanda in lege voluntas,
Hic poterit residens sacris intendere libris.

These recesses were probably derived from the niches or *exedræ* found in ancient basilicas on each side of the great apsis, especially the one at Herculaneum and that of Eumachia at Pompeii.

Such, then, was the arrangement of the Primitive Church, which we have seen to be derived from the classic basilica, and which, in Rome at least, has been the type of the Christian Church to the present day.

In other countries there were gradual changes through Byzantine or Romanesque forms to those with which we are all so well acquainted.

There is, however, one circumstance on which I may be permitted to remark that offends extremely the Italian scholars and archæologists, which is the use of a phrase which has lately obtained much, and was no doubt originally partly intended to give honour to our noble English Mediæval art, and partly adopted through a confusion of ideas of the temple and basilica, and that is the use of the words “Pagan” and “Christian” as applied to the various styles of architecture. “What,” have the Italians said to me again and again, “are those buildings in which the holy apostles and their successors have preached, which have been imbued with the blood of saints and martyrs, where synods and councils have sat, and which have existed here to the present day, to be called *Pagan* ! while that style which we know to be Saracenic, and imported from the East by the Crusaders into the North of Europe, and which never has taken root in Rome, is alone to be called Christian ! Mahomedan to be called Christian, and the style of the apostolic age

Pagan! Questo e pure canzonarci, Signore :—this is laughing at us, Sir [or, more literally, singing songs at us, Sir]. What would you think, Signore,” said one of the priests to me, “if we were to come into England and say that the duomos of York and Canterbury were Hottentot? One dogma would be as true as the other.” I must confess I was puzzled for an answer.

But to return: after the sixth or seventh century, a new rule or order was springing up,—a body separated from the secular clergy grew into existence, and exercised the most important influence in all ecclesiastical matters. The Eremites, or dwellers in the wilderness of Egypt, under the rule of Antony or Pachomius, now extended themselves gradually over the whole Christian world in the form of various monastic bodies, and with their increase grew up new constitutions, new customs; the most important of which, and one that seems wholly to have been overlooked in this investigation, is the establishment of a custom among all bodies, where a “conventus” or assemblage of clergy could be found, that another entirely separate set of services distinct from those of the laity should be daily observed. The time at which their observation first began is very uncertain.

The great Roman authority Carranza^a places it in that of Pope Damasus the First (371), but our learned Bingham and Joseph Mede consider it to have grown by degrees, and not to have been perfected till many years later. A service specially used by the Monks in the morning and evening is noticed as early as the time of Cassian^b; but the regular observance of those called the canonical hours, or the breviary services sung by the Monks at every third hour of the day and night, seems to have grown up so gradually it is impossible to fix its date. But at the same time with this change sprang up the difference in the choir of the churches, which difference in the building no doubt sprung from the rising idea that there were services peculiar to the clergy from which the laity ought to be excluded. The best authority probably is that of Durandus, who tells us (lib. i. cap. 3, 35) that, “in the Primitive Church, the peribolus, or wall which encircles the choir, was only raised elbow-high (usque ad appodiationem), and which is still observed [in some churches, whence it came that the people, seeing the choral clergy, might thence take a good example. But in *this* time (he goes on to say)

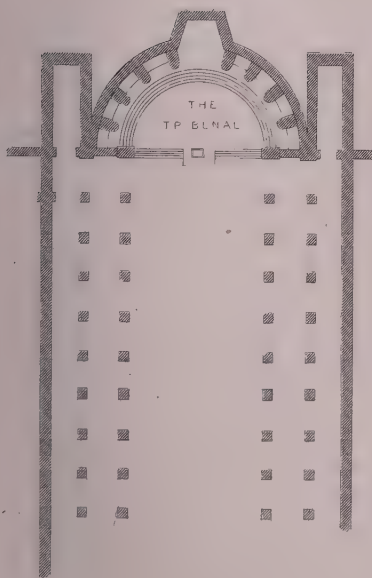
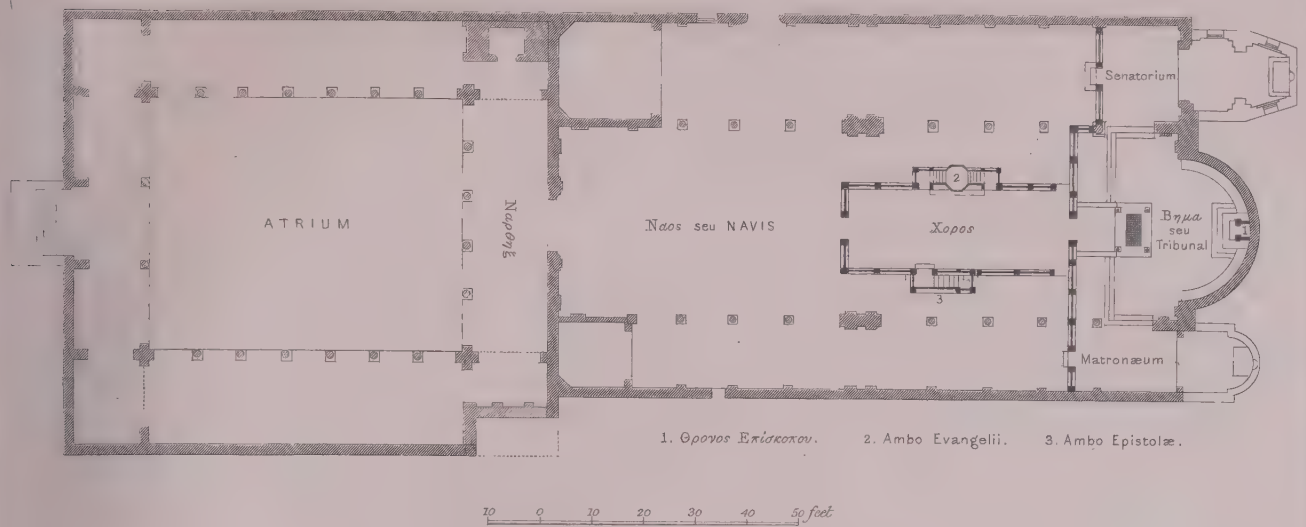
^a Summa Conciliorum, 84 verso, 1570.

^b Lib. iii. cap. 3. Quod tempus designat matutinam nostrum solemnitate; deinde tertia, inde sexta, post hæc nona, ad extremum undecima in qua lucernalis hora signatur.

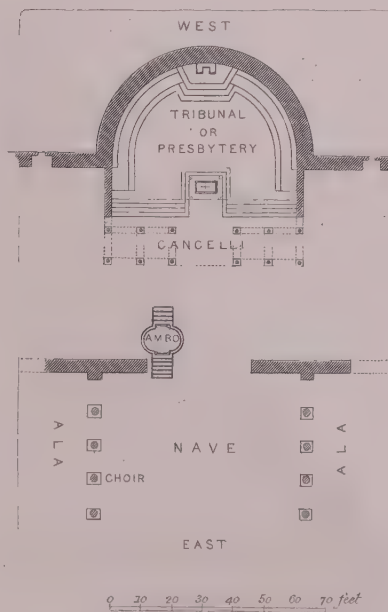
See also ib. Institutionum, lib. ii. De Canonico nocturnorum, orationum, et Psalmorum modo.

Ibid. iii. 2. Quamobrem exceptis vespertinis horis ac nocturnis congregationibus nulla apud eos per diem publica solemnitas celebratur.

THE PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF SAN CLEMENTE, AT ROME.



TRAJAN'S BASILICA
OR JUSTICE HALL.
ROME, A.D. 98.



PLAN OF ANCIENT BASILICA OF
ST PETERS, ROME, A.D. 330.



SAXON CATHEDRAL
CANTERBURY, A.D. 950.

almost always a veil is hung up, or a wall interposed, between the clergy and the people, lest they should mutually look at each other." Several attempts, as we shall hereafter notice, seem to have been made by the laity to mingle with their services, but eventually the matter has resolved itself as it is in the present day; viz. the laity are admitted to masses at different times that may be convenient (before noon), to public vespers, which are, in fact, a visit to the preconsecrated host, ave-marias, &c., and to occasional services, as litanies, Te Deum, &c., while the clergy celebrate, at every third hour, services given in the breviary, and called matins, lauds, primæ, tertix, sextæ, nones, vespers, and compline, in which the laity have no part.

The form which choirs, as we call them, have assumed in England and in Northern Europe is well known to all our members. At Milan, where the Ambrosian rite still prevails, the choir is raised some steps above a "confessione," and is surrounded by stalls, while two ambones, considerably elevated, and of most beautiful form, stand at the extreme ends of the choir-seats, close to the nave. At Rome, and in some places in Tuscany, the choir is in its primitive position before the altar. In many other places it is behind the altar, in a sort of Lady-chapel; in others, and by far the greater number, it is in a separate side-chapel, sacristy, or chapter-house.

The main difference in the North of Europe is the position of the cancelli, or rails. They formerly separated the altar from the choir; now they separate the choir from the nave. The idea that the laity should never enter the chancel or choir, has always been a puzzle to antiquaries, in spite of some dicta which will be hereafter examined. The practice of going to the high altar is so often named,—it has also seemed so difficult to believe, when we see such a choir as that at Canterbury, raised up so many steps and inclosed by such a massive screen and such high walls, how a service was celebrated at which the laity were called on "to draw nigh," and where they could neither draw nigh, nor see, nor hear. But there is the positive testimony of Barclay in the Shippe of Fooles, p. 183, which shows that the laity were not only admitted to the church, but also the choir or quere: he says—

"And whilst the priestes also themselves exercise,—
In matins, praying, sermon, or preaching divine,
Or other due things that longe to their service,
Teaching the people to virtue to incline,
Then these fooles, as it were roving swine,
With their jetting, and tales of viciousness,
Trouble all such service that is said, more and lesse.

" Into the church there comes another sotte,
 Without devotion jetting up and downe,
 Or to be seene, and to shew his garded cote;
 Another on his fiste a sparhawke or fawcone
 Or else a cokow, so wasting his shoon,
Before the aultar he to and fro doth wander,
 With even as great devotion as a gander.

" One time the hawkes bells jangleth hye,
 Another time they flutter with their wings,
 And now the houndes barking strikes the skye,
 Nowe sounde their feete, and now the chaynes ringes
 They clap with their handes ; by such manner of things
 They make of the church for their hawkes a mewe,
 And canell for their dogges, which they shall after rewe.

" Some gikle and laugh, and some on maydins stare,
 And some on wives with wanton countenance;
 As for the service they have small force or care,
 But full delite them in their misgovernance—
 Some with their slippers to and fro do prounce,
 Clapping with their heeles *in church and in quere*,
 So that good people cannot the service heare.

" Thus is the church defiled with vilany,
 And in steede of prayer and godlie orison
 Are used shamful bargains, and tales of ribawdry,
 Jestinges and mockinges, and great derision;
 There fewe are or none of perfect devotion;
 And when our Lord is consecrate in form of bread
Therby walks a knave, his bonet on his head."—p. 183, &c.

This is not exaggeration, for the second part of the homily "On the right use of Churches" says, "They never cease their uncomely walking and jetting up and down and overthwart the church, and speak covetously and ungodly, scarce honest or fit for tavern or alehouse, in the house of the Lord."

Besides this, we have the well-known custom in France and Belgium, as well as in our own cathedrals to the present day, that the laity are, and always have been, admitted freely into the choirs.

It was therefore with no small interest I watched the practice in the different towns in Italy, and there found, invariably, that the laity, men and women, entered what we should call the different chancels, when mass was said, and took their seats in the stalls, or wherever was most convenient. On inquiring further

I found this was and had been always an invariable custom, and still further discovered the word chancel is never applied to any portion of the building, but only to the gates and railings, "cancelli," which separate the various chapels from the other parts of the church; that what we call the choir, is by them called by its primitive name *tribune*,—the ancient *βημα*; and that the "coro" or quire is in any place, side-chapel or otherwise, where it may be conveniently held, and, besides this, that it is shifted from place to place at different times according to weather, and not only so but that in most cases it ceases to be called the choir when the choir, or monks who form the choir and who sing the breviary services, have left it. But still, and here seems the point whence all these errors have arisen, while *it is* a choir—that is, while the breviary or choir services *are* going on—the gates or "cancelli" *are* carefully closed; sometimes curtains are drawn before them, and the laity are always rigidly excluded.

A still more striking instance is found in the Jesuit churches, which are all built without chancels or choirs. Ignatius Loyola found the system of assembling every three hours for short services so interfered with the life of active exertion which he required from all his followers, that this obligation is omitted in his constitutions, and, as thereby choirs would have been useless, they are never erected in Jesuit churches.

As has been said before, the choir, or *coro*, is moveable. This puzzles a stranger very much. I remember an instance where a friend who stood in the eastern limb of a large cross church alluded to it as the choir, "Oh! no, Sir," said the sacristan, "this is not the choir, this is the tribune." "Where, then, is the choir?" asked the perplexed stranger. "Why, Sir," said the sacristan, "at present it is in the third chapel on your right, but next week it will be in the chapel in the cloisters." At Santa Maria Novella at Florence it was sometimes behind the high altar and sometimes in the chapter-house or chapel *degli Spagnuoli*, in the Green Cloisters: at St. John Lateran, the *coro* before the late alterations was before the high altar, now in summer it is behind it, and in winter in a chapel leading out of the transept, built for the purpose. At Santa Maria Maggiore the *coro* in summer is in the Sforza Chapel (a side chapel), in winter in a chapel to the right as you enter. At St. Peter's, it is generally in the Clementine (also a side-chapel), in winter in the sacristy. In fact there is scarcely a church of any size that does not have its *coro d'estate*, and *coro d'inverno*, its summer and winter choir.

My next inquiry naturally was, whether women are, or ever had been, excluded from any portion of churches, and whether the sexes are or ever had been separated, or occupied separate places, therein. I was informed that the only parts of

the church where they are prohibited from entering are the crypts, or *confessioni*; and this prohibition is said traditionally to have first been made by the Empress Helena, and simply to prevent scandal. Of course they are forbidden to enter any part of the monastic *dwelling*s, and even the cloisters where the monks take exercise. On further inquiry I was told that the separation of women in church formerly was peculiar to the Greek Church; that nation for many years keeping the women in a *γυναικαίον*, or sort of harem, in their own houses, and placing them in galleries in their churches, and that many casual allusions to this custom are to be found in the writings of the Greek Fathers;* but that at Rome, where the women stood on an equal footing in society with the other sex, it never was so. I chanced to recollect a passage in Saint Augustin, de Civitate Dei (ii. 28), where he speaks of men and women going separately to the churches to pray, as he expresses it, “*honesta utriusque sexus discretione*;” but found this was a custom kept up to the present day, in times of pestilence or trouble, or before the great festivals, when the men and women go, not separately to different parts of the same churches, but each to a different church. I remember one of these services at San Giuseppe dei Falegnami, where the building was filled entirely by women, and persons posted at the doors to prevent the entrance of any of the other sex. But I was still more surprised to find in the Italian cantons of Switzerland that this, the separation of the sexes in churches, was considered to be a Protestant innovation. It appears it is practised in those cantons, and not in the Catholic cantons. One of the priests showed us a little tract containing a long list of the alterations made at the time of the Reformation, when this very

* The Apostolic Constitutions (Labbe, i. 226) give directions for the doorkeepers, *πυλωροὶ*, to stand at the doors of the men, guarding them, *φυλάσσοντες αὐτὰς*; and the deaconesses, *αἱ διάκοναι*, to do the same at the women's gates. These constitutions evidently have reference to the Greek Church, and are probably not older than A.D. 250; some think them altogether spurious.

St. Cyril, Præfat. in Catech. viii. Διεστάλθω τὰ πράγματα ἄνδρες μετὰ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ γυναῖκες μετὰ γυναικῶν.

St. Chrysostom, in the 74th homily on Matthew, speaks of a boarded partition, *ταῖς σανίσιν*, between the men and women; but says, he has heard from old people that it was not so formerly, *ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἦν τὰ ρείχαια*: and further on he speaks of men and women praying *together* in the upper chamber in the time of St. Paul.

These are all authorities of the Eastern Church. Bingham, book viii. chap. 5, sec. 7, shows the women were placed in galleries, called *ὑπερώια*; he also shows, sec. 8, that there were curtains to draw before them.

It is a very curious fact, that Stephen Durantus, de Ritibus Ecclesiæ, i. 18, does not say of his own authority, or as a known practice in his day, that there was this separation; but makes a curious allusion to Amalarius Fortunatus, Bishop of Treves in the ninth century, who orders that men and women in the churches should be separated not only from kissing, “*non solum ab osculo carnali, sed etiam situ locali*.” There is no mention of such separation in the famous Durandus.

practice was quoted as an innovation, and ascribed to the famous Zuinglius. In fact it seems difficult to believe that such a separation could be effected in churches unless they were seated in modern fashion. And, although we know that pews were antecedent to the Reformation, for Bale in "The Image of both Churches," B. b. 8, speaks of "all shrynes, images, church stooles, and pews that are well payed for," yet their general use did not obtain till considerably later, as I believe is generally conceded.

But to return to the former part of our subject, viz., that the laity should not enter the chancels of churches: this opinion seems to have arisen a short time ago, after the publication of a translation of part of the celebrated *Rationale* of Durandus. It runs thus, "Unde statuit Concilium Moguntiacum quod pars illa quæ cancellis dividitur ab altari psallentibus tantum pateat clericis."

Now, curiously enough, this dogma is not to be found in the canons of the Council of Mayence in the year 813; yet it is in the third canon of the second Council of Tours, held in the time of Pope Pelagius the First, from A.D. 555 to 560. But this would exactly agree with the modern practice, if we suppose for a moment that the *psallentes clerici* mean, as the words do now, the clergy while singing the offices, or a choir while it is a choir. But just let us turn to the same canon as it stands, and read the concluding words, "Ad orandum et communicandum laicis et feminis (sicut mos est) pateant sancta sanctorum"—for prayers and for communicating let the Holy of Holies (the strongest expression that could be used) be open to the laity and to women, as the custom is." It is true that a somewhat different version may be given to the seventeenth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, held under Pope Honorius, A.D. 681, where the laity are directed to communicate below the choir. And at first sight a still more different idea may be inferred from the sixty-ninth canon of the sixth Council of Constantinople, where the title of the canon reads, "Laicus non ingrediatur chorum excepto Cesare"—let no layman enter into the choir except the Emperor. But, on reading the canon itself, the words are "within the sacred altar"—*intra sacrum altare*—or, in the words of the other council, the Holy of Holies. We see in how many senses the words are taken.

Let me now return for a short time to the actual practice abroad, and take for example that at St. Peter's itself at Rome. In general, as I have before stated, the breviary services are sung in the Clementine Chapel—a noble chapel on the left of the nave as you go up. This is filled with stalls and other seats, and has two organs facing each other. At one corner is a small private door leading to the sacristy, through which I was kindly permitted to pass when I pleased, except

at the time when the choir was assembled, when a nod from the nearest priest, and the whisper of the word “*coro*,” of course sent me back directly. We will suppose the tierce, *tertiæ*, or nine o’clock morning service, is over—the priests gone, and the metal gates open. It is an ordinary week day, or *feria*. A little after ten the professional singers assemble, and take their seats in a species of orchestra. The people assemble and fill the chapel, and high mass is performed. When this is over the chapel remains accessible to everybody till noon, when the priests again assemble: the gates are closed, and the *sextæ* are sung; and so on of the other services. On Sundays and festivals of higher character, instead of the high masses being sung in this chapel, they are invariably performed in the upper limb of the church, which we should call the choir, and which they call the tribune, the laity filling that portion of the building, and coming as near the altar as convenience will permit: a very great proportion of the high altars abroad have no rails. But on the great *funzioni*, or highest festivals, when the Pope himself says mass, it is at the altar under the dome, the great concourse of the laity filling the nave. In fact, I believe through the Continent the various portions of the church are used, *mutatis mutandis*, according to the number of people expected to attend, and in the best way convenience may dictate.

Another point to which my attention was directed was the orientation, as it is called, of churches. As many of our members are aware, this is wholly disregarded in Italy. The churches stand north or south, east or west, as convenience may require, and not only so, in such instances as that of St. Peter’s itself, and St. John Lateran, at Rome, and at Santa Maria dei Fiori at Florence, which stand in open spaces, the altars are placed at the west end instead of the east, simply because the principal front is best seen at the east end. In England, as is well known, the designs of many of our churches have been quite spoiled by the rigid way in which the rule of placing the altar at the east end is enforced. On talking this matter over I found that it was a sort of tradition that at the time of the compilation of the Book of Common Prayer the Reformers were unwilling to use the words “the Gospel side of the altar,” “in cornu Evangelii,” and that, therefore, the rubric stood as it does now, “And the priest standing at the north side of the table shall say,” &c. It will be seen at once that this must of necessity enforce the orientation of the altar, otherwise the north side might mean before or behind the table. These traditions seem vague, but are certainly curious, and deserve reflection and consideration.

One that I heard is not exactly to our present point, but it explains an anomaly so often observed and commented on, that I hope to be excused for introducing it

on the present occasion. We are all aware that every nation but ourselves, and, in fact, our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects as well as foreign nations, all pronounce Latin in the Italian mode, making A and E broad, and so are understood by the learned wherever they travel—a source of course of the greatest convenience, and a sort of passport among all literate men. Now we, from our being taught to pronounce the language as we do our own, are utterly unintelligible abroad, and lose these advantages entirely. As it is clear it was not always so in England, I inquired whether there was any tradition as to the time when this practice commenced, and any reason for it, and was told it originated in the reign of Elizabeth, at the suggestion, it was said, of the famous Sir John Cheke; but this can scarcely be, as he died in the last year of Queen Mary. It was probably his son, Sir Henry Cheke. Be this as it may, the tradition is that the modern English pronunciation of Latin was then first taught in all grammar schools, the object being to detect those who had received their education abroad, and so might be suspected of being priests in disguise, or persons disaffected towards the Government.

I should be sorry to be supposed to go beyond my province at all. My profession is to build churches, rather than to teach others how they should be used. But these points I have alluded to are the very points that touch us the most nearly; as convenience and economy of disposition are the very life and soul of architecture. At any rate I hope to be excused if I throw out for the consideration of others, whether there be any objection why the daily services, early morning services, or those where, from the pressure of occupation or other causes, but few can attend, might not be held in the choirs and chancels, instead of a few persons being thinly scattered over a large cold church; and why the Sunday or other important services should not be held in the nave. I see but one objection, and that is, the Church of England, as Bingham has shown, has but one altar^a in every church; but late investigations have declared that altar shall be moveable. Far be it from me to do more than invite attention to the simple fact, and I hope those who from profession and leisure are better ritualists than myself will investigate this most interesting and important subject at greater length.

^a Bingham also cites St. Ignatius, ad Philadelph. iv. "Ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος," "one altar, as there is one bishop," and uses much the same phrase, ad Magn. vii.

He also cites Aug. Hom. iii. in 1 Johannis.

XI. *Additional Observations to Mr. Ashpitel's Paper on Chancels*, by JOHN HENRY PARKER, Esq., F.S.A. *In a Letter addressed to SIR HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Director.*

Read February 5, 1857.

Oxford, Jan. 7, 1857.

DEAR SIR HENRY,

I was unfortunately not able to attend the Meeting of our Society on the evening when my friend Mr. Ashpitel read his learned and valuable paper on Chancels, but I have since been favoured with the perusal of it, and have been requested to make some additional observations on the subject. Far be it from me to attempt to answer Mr. Ashpitel; on the contrary, I would rather confirm what he has stated and illustrate it by some notice of the practice in France and England, Mr. Ashpitel having avowedly confined his attention chiefly to Italy. He has clearly demonstrated that in this instance, as in many others, considerable errors and confusion have arisen from a different sense being given to the same word, or from a gradual change in its meaning. We were all probably aware previously that the word chancel is derived from the Latin word *cancellus*, or the Italian *cancelli*, signifying a railing or screen; but it had not occurred to us that the original use of this railing or screen was to protect the chorus or choir from the pressure and interruption of the people while they were singing; hence the two words chancel and choir are synonymous in the sense of the place for singing, but that place is not by any means necessarily the eastern limb of the church. He has shown us that in Italy this singing-place, choir, or chancel, is continually changed even in the same church at different seasons of the year.

In the south-west of France,^a as I have myself seen, and, as I am informed, in Spain also, the chorus are usually placed in the middle of the church, with as much space at the east end as at the west, and the congregation assemble on all sides of the choir, a large proportion being placed between the east end of the choir and the altar. The choir is railed off on all sides, and the altar has a separate railing in

^a The church of Quimperlè in Britany is built on a very remarkable plan, the principal part of the fabric being circular, with the choir raised on a platform in the centre, and the aisles carried round it at a considerably lower level; both the nave and the apse for the altar being comparatively small and insignificant.

front of it. This custom is common in those provinces which were formerly English—Aquitaine and Gascony, and may probably have been introduced from thence into England. It is certain that in many churches in England the choir extended into the nave and was not confined to the eastern division of the building; it was surrounded by a screen separating it from the nave and aisles, and in some instances there seem evident marks of there having been a screen at the east end also. The choir extended only as far as the stalls, the space eastward of the choir being called the presbytery. In many churches there were small chantry chapels inclosed with screens called *parcloses*, and the space so inclosed for the chantry priests to chant the service was also called a *chancel*, so that there were several *chancels* in the same church. Many of these *parcloses* still remain, and many more have been destroyed within the last few years among the recent *restorations*.

Mr. Ashpitel has pointed out the arrangement of the ancient basilica or law court as the origin of the similar arrangement of the early churches, and the tribune or *bema* at the end forming a semi-circular apsis in which the seats for the priests were arranged in successive steps, exactly like a small Roman theatre, with the bishop's seat at the top overlooking all the rest, the altar being placed at the foot of these steps on the chord of the apse.

He has omitted to mention that the apsis or tribune was railed off by its own separate cancellus, even from the earliest period. The basilica of Trajan, built in A.D. 98, is precisely on this plan, with the Pagan altar on the chord of the apse; and, although there is no cancellus, there can be no doubt that there was one of wood, as the judge who sat behind it was thence called the "*cancellarius*." (See the Plate.)

In the plan of the original church of St. Peter at Rome, built A.D. 330 on the model of a basilica, the cancelli of the altar are distinctly marked, whilst the choir is insignificant and placed on the north side of the nave. In the Saxon cathedral at Canterbury, built A.D. 950, the same plan is copied, but in that instance three altars were introduced in the tribune, which had become the presbytery, besides others in side-chapels, and the choir had taken its place between the presbytery and the nave, nearly the same as in the churches of the twelfth century. It will be observed that there is no procession path round the east end; that custom did not come in until the twelfth century, when a change of the ritual rendered it necessary. The church on the island of Torcello at Venice is one of the most perfect specimens of this class, being quite unaltered, and should be added to the other examples cited by Mr. Ashpitel. This arrangement continued in use until the twelfth century, and the few stone churches built in England during the Saxon

period, being copied from Roman models, were on this plan. In several instances the semi-circular apse was destroyed, and a flat east end built, in the twelfth century.^a In some cases the plan seems to have been altered during the progress of the work. The old cathedral at Canterbury was on this type, but the arrangement was altered in the restoration after the fire. In the apse at Norwich the bishop's seat of the twelfth century still exists, or did when I was there last, on the top of the wall or solid screen which incloses the choir: it is hidden by modern work, and cannot be seen without a ladder.

Another point which Mr. Ashpitel did not mention, but which is interesting to us in England, is that the chancel, in the modern sense of the word, that is, the eastern division of the church, is not, in strict legal phraseology, part of the church at all. The parish is bound to keep the church in repair, but not the chancel, which belongs to the rector, and the rectorial estate is chargeable with the repairs.^b The landowners, who have become lay rectors, generally evade this duty as much as possible, and many chancels have been pulled down to save the expense of keeping them in repair. I remember an instance of a country church and chancel, which had fallen into a very bad state of repair, being rebuilt by subscription, and the lay rector munificently giving a hundred pounds on condition that the plan he approved of should be adopted, in which there was no chancel, so that he saved the rectorial estate not only the expense of rebuilding the chancel, but all future repairs also.

At the time of the Reformation this legal distinction between the church and the chancel was perfectly well understood, in popular language as well as in law. Many chancels were pulled down within a few years after the suppression of the monasteries which had supplied the chorus of monks. To stop this wholesale destruction, the order was introduced in the second Prayer-book of Edward

^a In other instances, however, the east end was originally square, as at Daglingworth, near Cirencester, a church of the ante-Norman period, which is also divided by two stone arches into three distinct portions: the Sanctuary, or place for the altar; the Choir, or place for the chorus; and the Nave, or place for the people. The same divisions may be noticed in other long narrow churches of later date, probably re-built upon old foundations, as Besselsleigh, Berkshire.

^b In the Constitution of Archbishop Gray, A.D. 1250, after directing what things the parishioners are bound to provide, it is ordered that "all other things shall belong to the rectors or vicars, according to their several ordinations; that is, the *principal* chancel, with the reparations thereof, as to the walls, and roofs, and glass windows, with desks and benches, and other decent ornaments, that they may sing with the Prophet, Lord, I have loved the comeliness of Thy house."—Johnson's Canons, vol. ii. p. 177.

In the Legatine Constitution of Othobon, A.D. 1286, "And let them also cause the *chancels* of the church to be repaired by those who are bound to do it in the manner before expressed."—p. 232.

In both these cases it is evident that more than one chancel to each church was usual.

VI. that "chancels shall remain as they have done in times past."^a Numerous instances might easily be cited in which the chancels were destroyed at that period, the chancel-arch walled up, and a window of the debased Perpendicular Gothic in use at that time introduced, as the Abbey Church at Shrewsbury, Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire, and numerous others,—probably each Fellow of this Society could supply instances from his own neighbourhood. In other cases the chancel-arch was walled up, and the chancel applied to some other use, such as a family burial-place, as at Arundel in Sussex, Dunster in Somersetshire, and many others. Several of these have, however, been restored to use in the recent restorations, which have done some good, as well as much harm from hasty indiscriminate zeal.

The order that the two Tables of the Commandments should be put up at the east end of the *church* does not mean of the chancel, but at the chancel-arch; and the chancel-arch was very commonly blocked up, either with a wall, or a partition of boards or plaster, against which these two Tables were placed. Beneath these was placed a third *Table*, called indifferently the Lord's Table, or the Lord's Board, or the Communion Table.^b This table or board was ordered to be moveable, and it was probably placed upon trestles, the same as a domestic table in a hall of the same period would have been. Whatever it rested upon certainly formed no part of the table, in the language of that day. The modern upholsterer's usage of the word table, to include the framework and the legs on which it rests, is not above a century old. I have occasionally met with the Tables of the Commandments of the time of Edward VI. or of Elizabeth, still remaining against the boarded partition under the chancel-arch. A Communion-table of that period I do not remember to have met with: they were all removed into the body of the church by the Puritans; and the earliest Communion-tables we find are generally of the time of Charles II. In these the table itself—that is, the board or slab—is always detached, resting on the framework by its own weight only, or else it is fastened with modern nails or screws. This seems to be in conformity with ancient usage, as we find mention in mediæval documents of the "tables

^a This order for the preservation of chancels was objected to by the Puritans on these grounds: "Whether the preservation of chancels be not scandalous to many by confirming them in the superstitious opinion of the holiness of one place more than of another."—Survey, &c. p. 40.

^b Bucer objected to the communion table being placed on the same site as the altar had stood upon, and his advice was followed by Archbishop Grindal in his Injunctions, and in the second Prayer-book of Edward VI. But in the Injunctions of 1559 Queen Elizabeth ordered the tables to be replaced where the altars had formerly stood.

of the altars.”^a In the legend of Charles the Good, Count of Flanders, in the twelfth century, these are mentioned in a manner that shows that they were detached from the substructure. In the islands of Jersey and Guernsey the Communion-table is usually kept in the vestry, and is brought out into the body of the church when it is wanted for use.^b

Many chancels were rebuilt in the time of Charles II., sometimes in the Italian style, in other instances in an imitation of Gothic work: of this latter class is the well-known chancel of Islip, Oxfordshire, built by the celebrated Dr. South, as recorded by an inscription on one of the tie beams. At this period the altar was always placed against the east wall, and protected by a railing; the chancel-screens were restored in some few instances, but far more generally the altar-rails only, in conformity with the practice of the early Christian Church, the custom of inclosing the high altar and the chorus within the same solid screen having been only introduced in the thirteenth century, along with the procession-path, and the Lady Chapel. The present altar-rails frequently mark the situation of the ancient screen between the sanctuary and the choir, as in St. Martin's church, Colchester, where the ancient division is very evident. As our present Prayer-book and Act of Uniformity are of the time of Charles II., the practice of those Anglican divines who assisted at this last revision, and the custom of their day, is a safer guide than that of the time of Elizabeth, which is no more binding on us than that of William the Conqueror.

Mr. Ashpitel has demonstrated that the custom of the orientation of churches does not exist in Italy, and never has been the practice in that country. It cannot therefore be a law of the Church; but it is remarkable that the custom has always been general, almost universal, in France and England, which seems to show an early tradition for it.^c The ancient Gallican Church, and through it the ancient British Church also, was of oriental and not of Roman origin, of which

^a Cardinal Wiseman mentions in his “Fabiola, or the Church in the Catacombs,” a tradition of the Roman Church, that St. Peter used a portable wooden altar, and among the relics preserved at St. Peter's at Rome is a wooden slab or board said by tradition to have been that altar. Cranmer was probably acquainted with this tradition.

^b A few instances also remain in different parts of the country of the Puritan usage, in which the Communion-table is placed in the middle of the chancel, with seats all round it, so arranged that it was impossible to kneel at it. I remember to have seen several of these, but they are fast disappearing.

^c Staveley, in his History of Churches, says, “The chancel at the east end thereof, warranted, *it is said*, by an apostolick constitution.” (p. 154, 2nd edition.) In the margin he gives the Latin, but no reference. I need not remind you that the early canons of the Church, called the Apostolical Canons, were written in Greek in the second or third century. I have just read them through again carefully in John Johnson's translation, but can find no mention of this subject.

many ancient customs give evidence, especially the time of observing Easter, so warmly disputed between the followers of Gregory and the British bishops. The Welsh Church retained its ancient usage in this respect until the twelfth century. Most probably the orientation of churches is part of the same original tradition; but, as many churches are not due east and west, various theories have been started to account for this, the favourite one being the direction of the sun at its rising on the day of the saint after whom it is named. I think it more likely to have been on the day the foundation was laid; but I believe the variation to be generally accidental, arising from situation, or the nature of the soil, or some similar cause.* Certainly many churches may be found dedicated to the same saint which have very different orientations; the rule seems to have been simply that the direction should be *eastwards*, without regard to the strict point of the compass, whether north-east or south-east.

It has always been, and I believe still is, a disputed point in law, whether the wall which separates the nave from the chancel, through which the chancel-arch is pierced, belongs properly to the chancel or the nave, and whose duty it is to repair it. The consequence of this is, that it is very frequently the oldest part of the church, the chancel having been rebuilt at one period, and the nave at another, and this wall and arch left standing in both, so that the chancel-arch may be of the twelfth century, or even earlier, while the chancel is of the fourteenth, and the nave of the fifteenth. But, as the early chancel-arch was very small, often not larger than a doorway, a larger arch has frequently been made through the wall at a later period. This is the case to a remarkable extent in South Pembrokeshire, where, the material being very hard and difficult to work, these larger arches are cut through the wall, as if they were hewn out of a rock, in a very rude and clumsy manner, the wall through which they are cut being usually very thick, and the task a difficult one.

I remain, dear Sir Henry, yours sincerely,

JOHN HENRY PARKER.

* The variation of the axis between the nave and chancel is often very remarkable, and has given rise to various theories to account for it. The most usual cause I believe to be, that the two parts of the building were erected at different times, and the ground-plan laid out carelessly, which was frequently the case in mediæval work, even when the superstructure would have led us to expect extreme care. The most remarkable instance of this deviation is the cathedral of Quimper, in Britany; here the chancel is of a different date from the rest of the church, and, I believe, there was something in the nature of the site which prevented the straight line from being followed. In some instances, however, this deviation does appear to have been intentional, and it has not been satisfactorily explained.

XII. *An Account of Researches in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Filkins, and at Broughton Poggs in Oxfordshire.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, *Secretary.*

Read 27 November, 1856.

DURING the last winter a mason, named John Farmer, while engaged in digging for stone in the village of Filkins, unexpectedly brought to light some Anglo-Saxon remains. Hearing by chance of this discovery, I proceeded to Filkins, and from the account I then received, I at once determined to apply for permission to undertake a systematic investigation of the spot. This was kindly granted by Mr. Robert Watts, the owner of the land, and on the 30th of September I commenced operations.

The village of Filkins is a township or hamlet about three-and-a-half miles north from Lechlade, and about five miles south-south-east from Burford, containing a population of between five and six hundred souls. It is a chapelry of Bradwell, from which it is distant one mile west. In the older maps it is divided into two portions, called "Over Filkins" and "Nether Filkins;" but this distinction appears to be now unknown to the inhabitants, and in the Ordnance Map it is marked less conspicuously than Broughton Poggs, a place with a much smaller population, from which it is divided by a brook, the confluence of two small streams, which I shall again have occasion to mention.

The spot in which the Cemetery is situated is on the north side or rear of the village, where the ground rises slightly and then sinks again, forming the bed of a small stream, which has its source in a field called "the Heads," a short distance to the east.^a The site, formerly a small paddock or garstun, called, from a former owner of the land, "Purbrick's Close," is occupied by a few cottages with small plots of garden-ground, and is bounded on the west by an ancient roadway called Thrupp, or "Trupp Lane."^b This lane joins the high road, running northerly in

^a This is the actual source of the stream ; the water-course beyond, represented in the Ordnance Map, being merely a drain from the upland above it.

^b Probably a corruption of Thorp Lane.

the direction of Eastleach, first crossing the small stream which surrounds an old moated farmhouse a little to the left. The stream continues its course for a short distance, when it deviates to the south, and, uniting with the brook which has its rise about half a mile to the north, separates the villages of Broughton and Filkins.

The objects discovered by Farmer are as follow :

1. Grave containing the skeleton of a man, lying east and west, the head to the west. On the right side, the blade of a sword of the usual form, measuring with the tang exactly thirty-five inches; a spear-head of iron, measuring from the point to the end of the socket nineteen inches. The umbo of a shield, placed on the breast, was unfortunately broken into fragments by the pickaxe.

2. Grave in close proximity with the former, containing the skeleton of a woman lying east and west, with a number of amber beads near the neck, and a pair of dish-shaped fibulæ on the breasts. They are of a more simple pattern than the example figured in the Society's Proceedings,^a but have a similar star-shaped ornament in the centre, and are gilt on the inside.

3. Grave of a young man, the skeleton lying east and west. On the right side of the head a small spear, and by the side a knife.

4. Grave containing a skeleton without any relic.

The following is a diary of my own operations:—

Sept. 30. No. 1. Opened ground in "Purbrick's Close," a few feet eastward of the spot where the four graves had been previously discovered, but found no traces of interment in that direction. The excavation was then continued southward of the former opening, when a grave was found, at a depth of twenty-one inches only from the surface. It contained a skeleton of a young man, measuring about six feet. The *dentes sapientiæ* were not developed. No relic was observed.

No. 2. About three feet to the left of this grave another skeleton was discovered, without any relic. It measured four feet five inches. The *dentes sapientiæ* were not developed.

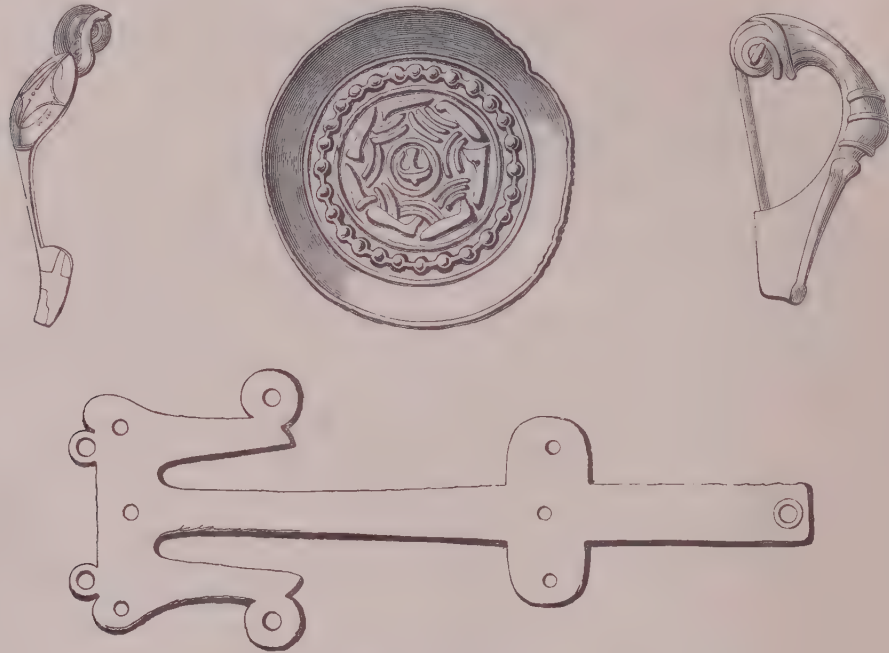
October 1. No. 3. Grave of a woman, the body in a crouching position, and the bones mingled with what appeared to be the remains of a prior interment. At the waist were two purse-guards. On the breast a saucer-shaped fibula between two others of Roman fabric. A single blue porcelain bead was found near the neck.

No. 4. About three feet south of the previous interment, a male skeleton was

^a Proceedings, vol. II. p. 132; Fairford Graves, p. 16.

found, lying on its side with the face turned to the north. On the breast were two flat ring-shaped fibulæ, and at the waist a bronze buckle.

The foregoing were all lying nearly east and west, the heads to the west, the graves varying from twenty-one inches to two feet in depth.



Objects found in Grave No. 3.

No. 5. Grave (two feet deep) of a young person, lying as nearly as possible *north and south*, the head to the south. On the shoulders two plain flat circular bronze fibulæ, and on the breast a portion of a hair-pin of bronze, which appeared to have been used for fastening the winding-sheet.

No. 6. Skeleton of a man, the femur measuring nineteen and a half inches, with a spear lying on the *left*^a side of the head and a knife at the waist.

October 2. No. 7. Grave of a man, the skeleton measuring six feet two inches, the head turned to the left, the legs parallel. On the *right* arm, just above the elbow, the iron umbo of a shield. No other relic was observed.

No. 8. Skeleton of a woman, with two saucer-shaped fibulæ on the breast, and a hair-pin. At the waist, a large iron buckle and a knife, which fell in pieces on removal.

^a This, I believe, is an unique instance of the spear being placed on the *left* side of the head.

October 3. Our work this day much impeded by the rain, but was continued at intervals, without discovering another grave, and, as I had to satisfy the claim of an occupier of the ground before we proceeded further, we shifted the scene of our operations to the adjoining village of Broughton Poggs. Of these I shall presently render an account.

October 8. Resumed work at Filkins, north of the previous opening.

No. 9. Grave of a woman, the skeleton much decomposed, without any relic.

No. 10. Skeleton of a young man, measuring about six feet two inches, lying in a shallow grave hollowed in the rock at about two feet from the surface. The right hand lying on the breast; at the head, a small spear-head of iron. No other relic was observed.

October 9th and 10th. Continued excavations northward without discovering any traces of graves.

October 11th. Interrupted by the rain. Obtained leave to excavate south of the previous opening, but nothing was discovered in that direction.

October 13th. No. 11. On excavating a small strip of land at the eastern extremity of the Cemetery which had not been removed, the workmen discovered a female skeleton, lying north and south, the head to the south, without any relic whatever. It had escaped detection in consequence of its lying in the manner described, the ground being trenched from north to south. Thus terminated our exploration of the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Filkins.

From the foregoing account, it will be seen that the number of interments in this ancient burial-place was limited to fifteen. After carefully excavating the ground on all sides except the west, which is bounded by the ancient roadway already described, I am satisfied that this spot has been thus far thoroughly explored. It seems probable that both Filkins and Broughton were originally detached groups of homesteads, the offshoots of a larger population at Bradwell. We may perhaps refer the derivation of the name of the first to a family whose patronymic was Filk.

While engaged at Filkins, I heard from one of my labourers that he had found several graves some time since, when occupied in quarrying stone on the summit of a hill called "Kinchin Knoll," about half a mile north of the village of Broughton Poggs. On application to John Thickens, Esq. the Lord of the Manor, I was kindly allowed to make further search, and this was prosecuted for two days, but unfortunately with little success, only one grave being discovered. The previous excavations had nearly exhausted this Cemetery, in which I learned that eleven skeletons, with their accompanying relics, had been found at short intervals.

The skeleton now discovered was apparently that of a woman passed middle age. It lay (like the rest, I am informed) east and west, and was less than six inches below the surface; a sufficient proof that these graves, like those at Kemble, had once been covered with tumuli. This was further evident from the crushed state of the bones, and the pressure on the two saucer-shaped fibulæ found on the breast. One of these was squeezed nearly flat, the paste or incrustation with which they had been filled having decomposed, and left the ornamental pattern impressed on the soil which covered it. At the waist was a small knife, the blade much worn by use.

The whole of the ground immediately surrounding the spot where these remains were found, was carefully trenched, but no other interments were discovered; yet we cannot feel certain that this burial-place was limited to twelve graves. Whether these were the sepulchres of the early settlers at Broughton, or of families whose homesteads were situated in the valley north of the village, and near the source of the stream, must be left to conjecture.

The objects exhumed at Filkins and at Broughton, though contributing varieties to the number already known, suggest but little for special observation. Their origin is, however, indisputable, and it is the duty of the Archæologist to place on record the particulars of every discovery of this kind.

The fibulæ resemble, as might be expected, those found at Fairford; and the purse-guards, if these objects are rightly designated, differ slightly in their general form from those already known. They are, I believe, the first that have been discovered in this district of England. They appear to have been fastened by thread, or studs, to the purse, and one of them is much shorter than the other; but probably this is due to accidental fracture during the lifetime of the owner. The purse was doubtless often deposited with the dead, but, being formed of perishable materials, is rarely identified unless accompanied by objects like those under notice. Among the Old Saxons the stealing of a purse was a capital offence,^b and the cutpurse in England in old time forfeited his life.

In two respects there is a remarkable difference between the Cemeteries of Filkins and Broughton. In the former the remains were deposited at an average depth of two feet; at Broughton they were scarcely six inches below the surface. This latter

^a These fibulæ are of bronze silvered, and appear to be constructed like those found at Fairford. *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. pl. x. No. 4., Fairford Graves, pl. iii. No. 4: Remains of Pagan Saxondom, pl. xix. No. 2.

^b Qui infra Screonam aliquid furaverit, capite puniatur. *Lex Saxonum*, iv. 4. Leibnitz observes on this: *Screona, scrinium puto seu arca clausa. Hodieque Germanis furtum cum effractione capitali est.* *Scran* is still a provincial word in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire for a small bag.

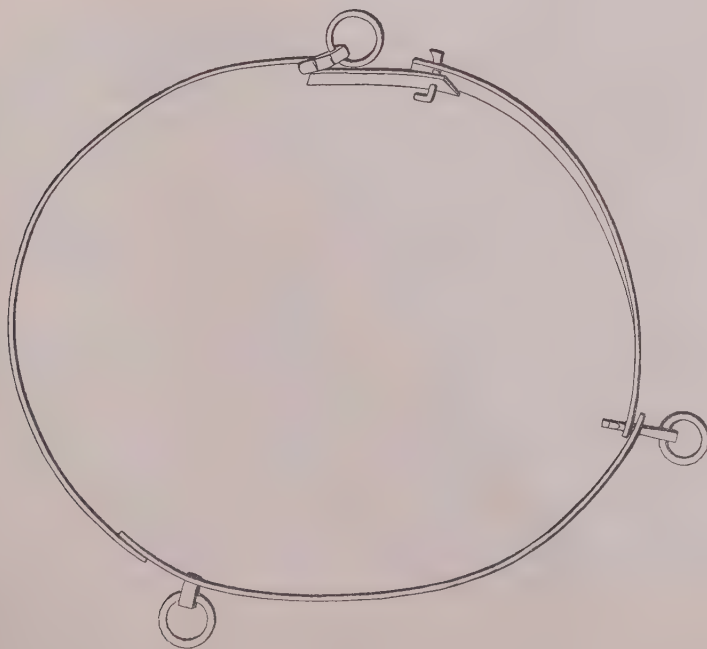
is, no doubt, to be attributed to the extreme shallowness of the soil ; and it suggests, as already observed, the inference that these graves were once protected by mounds of considerable height and size.

But the most remarkable distinction is, that the Cemetery at Broughton is situated at some distance from the village, while that at Filkins is obviously within its ancient limits. Both, however, were chosen at an arrow's flight from the sources of streams, so highly venerated by our heathen forefathers. At the foot of the hill or upland of "Kinchin Knoll," the site of the Broughton Cemetery, along the base of which winds the ancient road called "Kingsway," are two beautiful springs of water, the upper one known to the country people as "Ewelme Pill," the stream uniting with that which has its source at Filkins just above the junction of the two villages.

OBJECTS FOUND AT FAIRFORD.

I exhibit a few objects obtained by me from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Fairford, five miles west of Filkins, of which the following is a list :—

1. A bronze ring resembling an armlet, but probably the hoop of a pail-shaped box or casket, having three loops, the object of which must be left to conjecture.



Actual Size.

2. A very rudely ornamented dish-shaped fibula, the gilding in a remarkable state of preservation.

3. A quoit-shaped fibula plated with white metal, and ornamented with a pattern of circles stamped with a punch.

4. A pair of circular fibulæ of bronze, having the ornament stamped on thin foil,



Fig. 2.

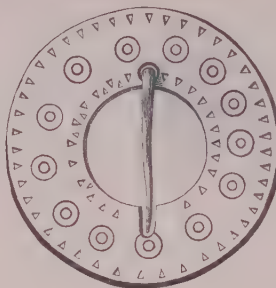


Fig. 3.

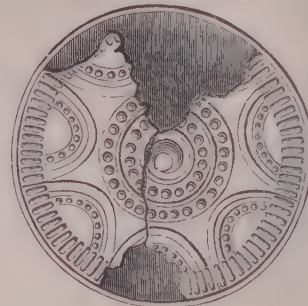


Fig. 4.

laid over the surface, and attached by means of some material which has perished, similar to those previously found at Fairford, Harnham, and the pair already described, found at Broughton. See *Archæologia*, vol. XXXIV. pl. x., fig. 4, and vol. XXXV. pl. xii. fig. 9.

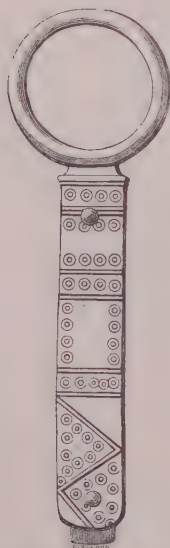


Fig. 6.—Actual Size.

5. Tweezers and pair of ear-rings of bronze.

6. Bronze object, apparently a terminal fitting of a girdle-strap, ornamented with circles and lines executed with a punch.

7. Ring-shaped object of bronze, probably the armlet of a child.

8. Nails found at the feet of a skeleton. Their heads are very prominent and resemble those found in Roman tombs.

9. A plain button-like fibula plated with white metal, and the bronze tag of probably a girdle-strap.

10. Beads of amber and glass, the former being of the ordinary kind, and one of the latter bugle-shaped, about an inch long.

It only remains for me to add that these objects, together with those found at Kemble, have been deposited in the British Museum, where they may be seen and studied by the student of our national antiquities, and not be exposed to the accidents which threaten all private collections.

J. Y. A.

XIII. *Narrative by Sir William Swan, of a Journey to Dresden made by him, in 1678; from a Transcript preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum. Communicated in a Letter to the Right Hon. the EARL STANHOPE, President, by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H., F.R.S., Director.*

Read December 18, 1856.

MY LORD,

I BEG to lay before your Lordship and the Society of Antiquaries a Narrative of some interest as regards the exhibition of the Manners of a former period.

It may not be unknown to your Lordship that, in the olden time, foreign Princes, who had been received into the Order of the Garter in this country, were usually accustomed to acknowledge their high sense of the honour so conferred upon them by the annual celebration of St. George's day in their own countries; thus doing honour to the Order by keeping its feast.

The Original of the Memoir I have here transcribed is preserved at Oxford among the manuscripts in Ashmole's Museum (No. 1134), and is entitled "Sir William Swan's Narrative of his Journey to Dresden, April and May, 1678."

He was at that time King Charles the Second's minister at Hamburg. His Will, which is in Latin, dated 22nd August, and proved November 6th, 1678, shows us that he died in the latter part of the very year in which this Narrative was written. He there styles himself "Magnæ Britanniae et Angliæ Regis ad Externa Negotia in Hamburgam Ablegatus plenipotentarius."

Sir William Swan, in his earlier day, was about the Queen of Bohemia, and is mentioned in one of the Queen's letters to Sir Edward Nicholas: he is also casually noticed, two or three times, by Pepys. He married a daughter of Sir John Ogle, of Pinchbeck, in the county of Lincoln, sometime Lieutenant-Colonel to Sir Francis Vere in the Low Countries; but she died before him.

The Elector whom Sir William Swan visited on this occasion was George II., Duke of Saxony, and Prince Elector of the Holy Roman Empire. He had been elected K.G. 19th June, 1668; had been invested at Dresden 13th April, 1669; and installed by proxy 28th May, 1671.

This Narrative is curious on another account, inasmuch as it shows a most generous and magnificent reception on the part of the Duke of Saxony, of a private person.

For the chief particulars here detailed relating to Sir William Swan I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King of Arms.

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful Servant,

HENRY ELLIS.

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope.

&c. &c. &c.

A Brief Narrative of my Journey to Dresden, my Reception, Treatment, and Dismission there, and what else has been observed at that Court, and in my way.

The 11th of April, 1678, about noon, I went from Hamburgh by land, being strong twelve persons, viz.: myself; an Irish gentleman, Mr. Tobin, who came hither from Tangier; a secretary; and nine persons in livery: among these there was a Valet de Chambre, a page, a cook, a barber, a footman, and two grooms; beside coachman and postillion. I had a Coach with six Horses for myself; a waggon with four for my people and baggage; and four English saddle-horses.

On the 15th I arrived at Magdeburgh, where I found a letter from Count Vander Nath, advising me, That it was the Elector's desire I should take my Journey quite through his Country over Wittenberg, and not go to Leipsig, which I obey'd; and, entering his Country the next day, was received at Gommern (two miles from Magdeburgh) by the Elector's Officers there; treated with a handsome dinner, and so sent to Zerbst with the Elector's Coach and Waggon.

Half an hour after I was arrived there, Duke Charles Guillaume of Anhalt, who resided at that place, sent a Gentleman on horseback, with four of the Duke's footmen, to compliment me, and to desire me to lodge at Court; which I refused, but would not fail to kiss his Highness's hand the next morning.

Notwithstanding this, the Duke sent his own Brother, in a Coach with six horses and half a dozen footmen, fetch'd me to Court, treated me with a noble Supper, and forc'd me to lodge at Court. The next day his Highness sent me in

his Coach to Coswill; four gentlemen, many Pages, footmen, and Trumpets of the Duke's going along, and there caus'd me to be treated at Dinner, after which, about four o'Clock, I went to Wittemberg, and so further up the Country.

On the 19th I arrived at Haym, four miles from Dresden, whither a Commissary of the Elector's was come the day before to compliment me from the Prince, and to take my Credetifs from me, whom I told I had none, and that I came to the Elector as a private person upon his Invitation. Nevertheless, half a mile from the Residence, I was met with twenty-four Coaches with six horses, with the greatest men of the Court in them; and abundance of Cavaliers on horseback; beside about five hundred of the Elector's troops, with Trumpets, Kettle Drums, and other sorts of Musick: after that I was complimented, I was set in the Elector's own Coach; on both sides there went halbertiers bare-headed, all the soldiers and constables stood in arms, and in this manner I was conducted to the Castle and lodg'd there in the best Room, called the Elector of Brandenburg's Quarter.

There were ordered to wait upon me, Mons^r van Kosbott, Counsellour of the Court, and Justice, as Commissary and Cupbearer;

Mons^r van Hangwitz, gentleman of the Elector's privy Chamber, and Major of Horse, as Marshall;

Mons^r van Nostis, captain and gentleman of the Elector's privy Chamber;

Mons^r Schaffer, Commissary of the Court;

Two gentlemen as Carvers;

A Page of the Elector's Chamber;

The Fouriers of the Court and Chamber;

A Trumpet;

A Footman;

All the Elector's Coachmen de Corps and Waggon-holders;

The four Officers of the Court, viz., Kitchen, Cellar, Silver-chamber, and Baking-house;

The Elector's Bed-master;

The Tapizier;

The Silver-keepers;

All the Watches of Drabants and Switzers.

That night I supped in my Apartment and was very handsomely served, Count vander-Nath being, amongst other Great men, at table with me. Mr. Tobin and my Secretary had the Marshall's table: and the rest of my servants were likewise all treated at Court.

The next morning, which was Sunday the 21st, at 5 of the Clock, the Music of the Dragoons, which were hautboys, came under my chamber windows and welcomed me. At 7 of the clock I was fetched to the Church by the abovesaid Gentlemen, who, to the number of a dozen at least, went always bareheaded before me.

There was an extreme fine Italian and other Musick with Trumpets and Kettle-drums before and after the Sermon. After this I was brought to my chamber; and then fetched to my public Audience; brought to my chamber again; and then fetch'd to dinner in the same manner.

I was set at the upper end, the Elector at my right, and Electoral Prince at the left hand; next to him sat Prince Maurice, the Elector's brother, and over against him Prince Christian of Halle. Item both the Trisen Privy Councillors, and Prince Maurice's Governor. At night I supped at my lodging, and

On Monday, being the 22nd, in the forenoon, I saw the Chambers of Art, the Stables; and dined in my Chamber. In the afternoon I saw the Hunting House in the Old Town, being carried thither in a Coach with six horses; and followed by another with two, and waited on by the said Gentlemen.

On Tuesday morning the 23rd, which was the day of the Feast, about six o'clock, were three great guns shot off for a signal; and afterwards, about 7, all the guards of Germans and Switzers appeared in the Court, and under my Chamber windows, all very well cloathed and exercised. At 9 o'clock I received the visits of the Imperial and Danish Ambassadors. At 10 o'clock I was fetch'd in great state and carried upon the Riesen Sahl (a great hall in the Court), which was hanged round about with crimson damask, and on the ground with red Cloth. There was an Altar made at the upper end, upon and about which were abundance of wax Candles burning upon great silver Stands and Lamps. At the right hand was a Throne and Canopy for His Majesty, and a Chair set for me below it. Over against was one for the Elector, and under it, over against me, Chairs for the Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, and Prince Christian of Halle.

About both the Thrones there stood six pages in blue satin clothes, with gold laces, very rich; and a little lower four gentlemen with halberts. When the Elector came in, which was after ten o'clock, there went about fifty great guns off, and salve was twice given out of Musketts.

In the mean time the Elector came in, in his robes, under the sound of twenty-four Trumpets and Kettle-drums, who were all in a yellow satin livery, with black and golden laces.

Afterwards the great music of Italians and others, who were on the lower end

of the Hall, began, which lasted an hour and a half, and then the Vice-Chancellor Van Oppeln made a very handsome speech in high Dutch, in praise of the Garter, upon the words, "*Hony soit qui mal y pense.*" I have a Copy, and will see it translated into English. Thus done, the Music began again, and the Elector went out in the same manner. So that day, about a hundred great Guns were shot off.

About 12 o'Clock we went to dinner in the Riesen Gemach, as they call it, joyning to the Great Hall, which was very magnificent.

There was none at table but the Elector, Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, Prince Christian, and I, plac'd as the Sunday before; waited upon by none but that wore the golden key, and the greatest of the Court.

St. George, the Dragon, and the words "*Hony soit que mal y pense,*" were everywhere seen upon the Dishes, Meat, sweetmeats, and silver-gilt plates. All the wine was credenc'd, and the several Musicks changed from one to another, which lasted till 5 o'clock in the evening; and I was brought to my chamber again.

On Wednesday the 24th there was held a Running at the Ring, by the Elector, Electoral Prince, Prince Maurice, and Prince Christian of Halle, beside abundance of gentlemen of the court, all in extreme rich cloaths, and rich furniture of horses. It began at 10 o'clock and lasted till one. After which we went to dinner in the Stone Room, and were plac'd as yesterday, except that some of the greatest of the Court were at table. There was all sorts of Musick, and amongst them the Singers of Silver Miners, in the Elector's livery, which lasted till half an hour past Five.

At seven o'Clock we went to the Play House, where there was acted the Comedy of Jason and Medea, in high Dutch, w^{ch} lasted till 10 o'Clock at Night.

On the 25th I dined in my Chamber, and supped with the Elector in the Church-room, which is near the chapel. At 9 o'clock the Fire-work of Jason's conquering the Golden Fleece at Colchos began, and lasted till 12, which was an extraordinary thing, and hardly better seen. There was a castle built upon the wall near my chamber-window, with five towers full of fire-works and rockets within. On the top whereof stood Jason armed; on the ground was the dragon; and the two oxen, spitting fire; and the plough. Round about the castle were planted 75 great mortar pieces full of fire-works, and abundance of small shot in the wall; whereof the history is printed in High Dutch at Dresden.

There have been 28,000 rockets; among whom there were some of two hundred and odd pounds weight. This Fire-work has been kept for an extraordinary

occasion these twenty-four years, and has cost above 20,000 crowns, the Elector (as he told me himself) having made most of it himself, when he was Electoral Prince.

On the 26th I dined alone, and supped with the Elector in the same Room. After which there was an Opera acted, of the rarest Voices, containing the matter of the Comedy. The words “*Hony soit que mal y pense*” were seen burning all along above the Theatre, and there were two Ships fighting at Sea, whereof one was called the Dragon, and the other St. George; which latter burnt and sunk the former: a great many small Mortar pieces having been planted about the Play-house, which were shott off under the Fight and sound of trumpets and kettle-drums.

On the 27th I dined in my Chamber, and went to Moritzburgh in the Afternoon with the Elector, who had caused all his Musicians to come thither.

On the 28th, after seven o’Clock in the morning, I was fetch’d to the Chapel, which is very fine, where there was an excellent Musick before and after the Sermon. After which we dined below, where there were several great men of the Court at table.

On the 29th, in the Morning, at 7 o’Clock, the Elector returned to Dresden again, and I was carried to Radeberg, conducted by a Company of Horse. All the Gentlemen that were ordered to wait upon me; and Mons^r de Metzrad, House-Marshal, Mons^r Klengel, Colonel of the Artillery and Inspector of some of the places where I was carried to, besides Trumpets, Pages, Footmen of the Elector’s going along. We dined at Radeberg, and went to Stolpen that day, where we supped and lay that night.

N.B. The Castle lies upon a high Rock, which is harder than iron, and grown so strange that it is to be admired, whereof I have brought with me two pieces, which I intend to send for England. There is likewise a Fountain cut, or rather forced with fire in the rock, of very great depth; and a Park about the Castle, wherein there are several hundreds of white Stags. /

On the 30th we went to Pirna, and further to Konigstein, the strongest place by Nature in Europe, which lies upon such a great and high rock, that fifty men are able to keep off an Army of 50,000. There is a Fountain cut in the rock to the very bottom of it, which is 300 fathom deep, and a great Fatt full of Wine which holds 2200 Aumes, as also a fine Wood, Corn-fields, good buildings, and Arsenal above, and reckoned a great favour unto him that is admitted to come up. After we had dined above, we went down that night to Pirna, the Castle whereof is called Sonnenstein, where we supped and lay that night.

On the 1st of May I returned to Dresden, where I arrived at noon, and was treated by Count Vander Nath.

On the 2nd there was held a Shooting with Crossbows, and I dined with the Elector in the Shooting-house.

On the 3rd I was treated by Mons^r D'Alefield, the Danish Minister there.

On the 4th in the morning I had my Audience of congé of the Elector, and in the Afternoon I went down to my Boat in the Elector's Coaches, accompanied with abundance of Gentlemen of the Court, and having taken my leave of them at the Bridge foot, where all the soldiers and constables were in arms, they returned into the Tower again; and I went that night to Meissen, in company with the said Gentlemen that were with me in the Country.

On the 5th in the morning I saw this Castle, and afterwards went down to Gorgan, where I arrived in the Evening, and was very handsomely received and treated.

The next morning, being the 6th, I saw the Castle, which is of an excellent building, and afterwards went down to Wittenberg, which is an University.

On the 7th, after dinner, all the Gentlemen and Attendants of the Elector left me, and I went that Evening to Coswick, where I was again treated by the Prince of Anhalt, who was come thither but a little while before me; and I was lodg'd at Court.

On the 8th in the morning I went into my Boat again, and arrived at Hamburg the 12th.

Mons^r. Van Oppeln's Speech on S^t. George's Day, 23 April, 1678.

HONY SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.

This, may it please your Electoral Highness and Gentlemen, is the Motto of the Royal Order; the Memory of its Institution is the occasion of this Day's solemnity; and this shall likewise be the beginning, middle, and end of my Speech.

The auncient Albion had not yet bowed his knees before any foreign Government, being, from the time it was first inhabited, acted by principles of the most heroic Virtue. And though the first Emperour Julius (who was never conquered, till he fell a sacrifice to the falseness and treachery of his own people,) landed the first foreign forces upon its shore, yet found much resistance, that in none of his wars he atchieved less than in those with the Britons.

In after times, especially under the two Emperors Claudius and Domitian, it was, after so many bloody wars, not so much conquered as received into friendship and alliance with the Romans, who set so high a value on the courage and gallant behaviour of its inhabitants, that they called this Island by way of eminence the Roman Island; who took their best men out of it, and employed them for the defence and protection of their other Countries and Provinces against the Invasions of the barbarous Nations; whereupon it was so weakened of Men that afterwards those Britons that were remaining, being involved in the distractions of an intestine war, and the Romans being hindered to assist them, were forced to call in the valiant Saxons, long before this time renowned for their noble Actions, who delivered them not only from the Picts and Scots, but part of them remained there also, from whom (the brave Norman being afterwards joyn'd to them) the noble Nation of England had the Original; who were at present known to be victorious within and out of Europe, and in the other Parts of the World.

The King of Birds—the Eagle—doth not usually bring forth a Pigeon, nor is a flying Deer, or fearful Sheep, the common issue of a Lyon; but when the latter mixed with the Pardelin, the offspring is a Leopard, so the coalition of these two so gallant Nations entailed upon their successors an everlasting zeal to attempt brave actions. And because they knew that honour and knowledge of justice was the right tinder and support of Virtue, they wakened the active and vigorous blood in their breast, by rewarding their generous actions, and putting them in mind to follow the brave examples of their Ancestors, if not to surpass them.

They rewarded their youth publicly with Shield, Sword, and Girdle, declared them therewith fit for service of War, and separated them from the common people under the Names of Noblemen and Knights. They found out almost as many Orders, as they observ'd the different ways whereby they gave proof of their good conduct and virtues. Those that excelled in horsemanship they made Knights of the Golden Spur. The Knights of the Bath were not looked upon so much for the cleanness of their bodies, as the purity of their spirits, and the innocence of their morals; and the bravest they rewarded with embroidered Flags, painted with the Arms of their Families, and created them Knights Bannerets. To say nothing of the Valvasors, weapon or shield-bearers, and the Knights of Batchelors, who were formerly used with them.

Arthur, an ancient King of Britain, did set the most renowned Officers with him at a Round Table, to show the high esteem he had for them; that he esteemed them all equal, and himself no more than they; from whence came the Order of the Round Table.

King Richard the First, together with those under his royal conduct, with King Philip of France, went into the Holy Land against the unbelievers, Saracens, and their King Saladin, who had already made himself Master of Jerusalem and other the best Towns.

And the siege of Acon or Ptolemais, which is now commonly called by the Inhabitants and others Tolometta, happening to be very long and tedious, made choice of some of his best Noblemen, and tied a leather Thong about one of their legs, thereby to lay the greater tye upon them to prosecute the service they were upon with the greater zeal; took also the Town, and laid in a manner the first stone upon which in the following times the most famous Order of the Garter was built; for when afterwards King Edward the Third, victorious in his Wars against the French and Scots, distributed the same for a Signal, won therewith several Battles, and having taken prisoners King John of France and King David of Scotland, he thought it reasonable to reward the virtue of them that had behaved themselves well and more gallantly than others, and that the memory of such great Victories might be preserved to after Ages, He in place of the leathern gave a blue silk ribbon with this embroidered Inscription, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*; did appoint a certain number of the Knights, and Rules and Laws for the Garter; ordered also that the Holy Knight and Martyr George of Cappadocia (who, three hundred and three years since our Saviour's birth, at the time of the cruel Persecution of Diocletian, was martyred and beheaded at Nicomedia in Bithynia,) should be the Patron of it (as was usual then), gave his Picture unto the Knights to wear, and commanded that on this day they should meet at Windsor (which was the place of his birth, and of the two Kings' Imprisonment), and that all should be obliged to celebrate the same there, except those that were far absent and hindered by any extraordinary occasion from coming thither; nevertheless should do it in their respective places.

It is not to be expressed with what passion this Order has been accepted by the greatest heads of the World; and how happy and venerable have they been accounted that have been honoured with it ever since its Institution.

The Emperors Sigismund and Charles the fifth thought it no lessening of their greatness to receive the Order in person from the hands of King Henry the 5th and 8th. Others received it by splendid Embassies. And, though in examining the rules of the Order (which at once suffer no more but twenty-five Knights besides the King as Sovereign) it appears that in so many Years the Number doth not amount to five hundred; yet it is remarkable that, amongst them, eight Roman Emperors, near thirty foreign Kings, and as many or more Electors and

Princes, beside the English, can be counted, which cannot be affirmed of any Order whatsoever.

There was one thing wanting, which might add a new lustre and glory to this illustrious Company. The famous Nation of the Saxons, after they had been carried into the Islands of Britannia by the great King Hengist, were so taken with its largeness, pleasantness, and fertility (in all which it surpasses all the Islands in Europe, and I may say in the World), that they remained there, and took possession of the land.

The noble root of Witikind dispersed itself in so many branches, that their agreeable shadows covered most part of Germany. And when formerly England, through the King Coel's daughter Helena, had given to the world the great Constantine for an Emperour, so had these through the great Otho and his successors done the like, and to this day preserved two famous Circles of the Empire, principally by this Electoral House, under the protection of which we live. Of this so illustrious House, there was a stem wanting in the fine and fertile Garden of the Royal Garter Order, and the same was happily planted in, when almost ten years ago, viz. the 19th June 1668, the now reigning and most potent King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Charles the Second, Defender of the Faith, as Sovereign of the Order, in an Assembly of the present Knights, not only nominated and chose the present Serene Elector of Saxon and Burggraffe of Madeburgh, Duke John George the Second, but also with a splendid Embassy, who brought the Habit of the Order along, was invested and publicly declared a Knight of this Most Noble Order with all due Ceremonies.

What the costly Habit of the Knight is; and what jewels they wear are and signify; as also wherein their Rules and Laws consist; has been formerly explained in this place, and is to be had in print.

His Electoral Highness my gracious master, at present keeping this day according to custom, acknowledges with particular satisfaction and humble Thanks that His Majesty of Great Britain, as Sovereign Protector and Master of the Order, upon the Elector's notification, was not only pleased with this his intention, but also to demonstrate the same has sent his Embassy, by which the Feast appears the more glorious, His Electoral Highness obliges himself that he will endeavor to merit it with all due and agreeable Services to His Majesty, and thanks the Ambassador for the pains of having taken upon him a troublesome Journey, and will do all whatever may tend to the satisfaction, honour, and interest of His Majesty and the whole Fellowship of the Order.

We cease not at all times to echo forth our joyful acclamations of all happiness

and prosperity, and heartily wish that this excellent Union of these great Persons may tend to the constant Defence of the Honour of God, to a restoration of a Peace for the quiet of Christendom, which his Majesty hath hitherto laboured to procure, with great zeal, to His immortal praise, and at last to the prosperity of all the Members of the Order, especially to both the Royal and Electoral Houses great *flor*,^a to a good understanding betwixt them, whom God grant long to reign in all happiness; as also to the Protection, Welfare, and Increase of their Kingdoms, Electordom, and Lands, and that by them and their successors this may not be looked upon to be only as a Common Motto of the Order, but may be and remain a maxim of eternal Truth—

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.”

^a The transcript in the margin says *sic*.

XIV. *Relation of the Lord Fauconberg's Embassy to the States of Italy in the year 1669, addressed to King Charles II. ; transcribed from the original MS. signed by Lord Fauconberg himself, preserved in a Volume of the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, No. 2752. Communicated by Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. F.R.S. Director.*

Read 5th and 19th March, 1857.

* * Granger, in the Third Volume of his Biographical History of England, gives the following account of Lord Fauconberg:—

“ Thomas Bellasyse, Viscount Falconberg, was one of the Council of State to Cromwell, whose daughter Mary he married. He was much in favour with Charles II., and was sent ambassador by him to the State of Venice, and the Princes of Italy. In 1672 he succeeded his uncle John, Lord Bellasyse, as Captain of the band of pensioners, and was created Earl of Falconberg by King William, April 9, 1689. He died December 31, 1700.”

May it please your most Excellent Majesty.

WARRANTED as well by the generall practice of Ambassadors of the late and present age as commanded by your Majesty's instructions of the 10th of January, in the 21 yeare of your Majesty's most happy raigne, at such time as you were graciously pleased to honor me with the character of your Extraordinary Ambassador to divers of the Princes of Italy, I most humbly prostrate at your Majesty's feet, and doe with all submission and reverence offer to your Majesty's consideration this following accompt of the Observations I made in the several places where I carried that character.

I left London on Tuesday the 18th of January, 166 $\frac{9}{10}$, towards Dover. At my arrival at Calais the French king, pre-informed I suppose of my character, had given order I should bee received with all honor and respect due to one who was employed by your most excellent Majesty. The governor and civile magistrates of the town visited me. The officers of the custome house brought me an order, under the king's hand, commanding them to let passe my baggage trayne and servants, coaches, and 62 horses, without searching into the one or paying for the other. I was treated with the same respect and honor in all the citties and garrisons by which I passed until I arrived at Paris, where I understood Madame was retired to Villars Costeretz with Monsieur, who had conceived some disgust at the disgrace then lately befalln the Chevalier de Lorraine. I omitted not to

waite upon her Highnesse in her said retyrement as my duty obliged me, and, encouraged as well by her as convinced by the reasonableness of the thing, I went to St. Germain's to wait upon that King, who received me with all imaginable kindness. I was treated with much respect in that court, to which I was not altogether a stranger.

I forbear to say more of that Prince or Court, the interest of that crown and government your Majesty is not uninformed of; besides, it is the province of another of your Majesty's servants who has resided much longer there, and doubtlesse is better able to informe your Majesty minutely of these things then I can reasonably be supposed to doe.

I doe not pretend to make a long Narrative; the short stay I made in every of the places where your Majesty sent mee not allowing time enough to inform myself exactly of which otherwise I might have done.

The present Duke of Savoy was borne June the 20, 1634, soe that he will bee this June, 1671, 36 yeares old. His father was Victor Amadaeus, and dyed Octob. 7, 1637. His mother, who was sister to your Majesty's mother of blessed memory, after her Lord's death continued the administration of the government until the present Duke attayned the 14 yeare of his age, which was June 19, 1648, on which shee unexpectedly declared her regency to bee determined. This present Duke has been twice married; first in 1663, to Mademoiselle de Valois, daughter to his uncle the Duke of Orleans; but shee dying, as also his mother did before the end of that yeare, hee within few moneths after tooke to wife Maria Joanna Baptista de Savoy, commonly called Mademoiselle de Nemours, shee being a princesse of his owne family, and unto whom hee must have payd a considerable dower if shee had married elsewhere. Shee is 27 yeares old, and has only one sonn, born the 14 May, 1665; and, as I find, they have noe great likelyhood of more.

The Duke of Savoy is vigorous, active, amorous, free of discourse, a great lover of buildings; hee spares no cost to accomplish his pleasures. Witnessse his pallace a la Venerie, built in a mountain, yet finished with all perfection, in a place of ill accesse, incapable of enlargement of gardens, courts, or parterres, without removing of hills or raysing vales, which yet this prince has atchieved in two or three yeares time. Hee delights much in hunting, as appeares by the building of this place, and is noe lover of the French; as the same place may alsoe witnessse, for hee has incomparably a better house, and a more convenient place for that sport, were it not scituated within view of Pignerol, the only argument as hee told mee himself that induceth him to come so little there. This prince's great earnestnesse in that sport is evident from severall escapes hee has had, almost to a

miracle, of which I can give your Majesty a verbal accompt; hee has in his nature such a familiarity, as renders him beloved by all that converse with him.

This Duke is exceedingly beloved, I may say adored, by all his subjects great and small, from whom hee takes with moderation, though his government makes all lawfull to him. Hee is more mindfull of his businesse then hee seemes to bee, and has more money in his coffers then hee would bee thought to have. Hee is in continuall action, and though in appearance hee bee a man of pleasure, yet I dare assure your Majesty hee is very diligent in his affaires, and neglects noe matters of moment. Hee is out of debt and a good manager, yet abates in nothing which may tend to the advancement of his grandieure, as his guards, which for habit and armes are not inferior to any I have seen.

The Dutchesse is a most excellently accomplished princess, and exceedingly beloved by all that Court. I had the honor of seeing her often, not only en Ambassadeur, but en particulier, and severall times some houres together along with the Duke only; in which time I never observed her to say anything which had not weight and judgement in it, which together with her complaisance has I suppose produced that great power and interest shee has in the Duke, to such a degree as hee seldome acts anything of moment without her advice.

The Duke is of a black haire, and a sanguine complexion; not very tall. The Dutchesse is rather fat then leane; of a faire complexion, gray eyes, a round face, indifferent tall, and well shaped. They have only one sonne, who at my being there was just recovering of a dangerous sicknesse. If this prince dyes and the Duke have noe other children, that dukedome descends to the Principe di Carignano, eldest sonne to Prince Tomaso, that dyed some 8 or 9 yeares agoe at Turin, and was brother to the last Duke. The said prince, though dumb, is a lover, and has possibly one of the handsomest ladyes of that Court to his mistresse. The said Prince Tomaso's second sonne is called Eugenio Conte de Soissons, who is still liveing at Paris, and marryed Mademoiselle Mancini, Cardinal Mazarini's neece, by whom hee has severall children, two of which live at Turin with their dumb unkle: the eldest, il Cavagliero di Savoya, may bee some 9 yeares old; the other, il Conte de Dreux, about 7. I visited the unkle and nephews and was visited formally by them, of which I have some passages to relate to your Majesty, which possibly may not bee disagreeable. These have all the title of Altezza, and pretend in the same manner as the princes of the blood of France to the hand of all ambassadors; but in my particular they were strangely respectfull, and avoyded any third place where I hapned to come. The father of these young princes has many other children, and is in a faire way of encreasing them.

The Princesse Louise, who is the Duke of Savoy's sister, may have some 40 yeares of age; a very masculine woman, and has a great deal of witt; shee was marryed to her unkle the Cardinal, but never had any children. The women here doe not succeed in the inheritance of the State, though they doe in private patrimonies.

Though the Duke bee a soveraigne Prince, and may determine all matters forreigne and domestick as himself thinks fitt, yett hee has thought good to make use of a privy councill, composed of the persons hereafter following: the Archbishop of Turin, the grand Chancellor, the Marquis of Pianesse, heretofore Chief Minister (who though retired and leading a religious life, comes yet and assisteth at the Council, as often as hee is sent for, else not), the Marquis de Villa, knight of the order and generall of the artillery, the abbot d'Aglie, the Marquis St. Thomas, premier Ministre and Chief Secretary of State, and the Conte de Bouthilliere his sonne, who has the reversion of that place after his said father, and now acts at this time jointly with his father as secretary of state; as his said father heretofore did with his father before him.

The grand Chancellor and Chief Secretary of State are of this Council by vertue of their places, the rest ad libitum Principis, and come not unlesse called; soe that when they dye those who succeed in their employments have not thereby any right to bee of this Council, unlesse the Duke think fitt to advance them thereunto on the accompt of their experience and merit, or his favour and good will.

But your Majesty may bee pleased to know that there are only two who may bee said to bee the persons on whom this Duke does chiefly rely in all matters abroad and at home. The one I have already named, the Marquess St. Thomas, who may bee 55 yeares of age but seemes much older, being of no healthy constitution; hee is subject to catarrhs colds, is rich, and desires to bee richer. Hee has been alwayes bredd up to businesse under his father, who was (as I have observed to your Majesty) secretary of state before him, so that it is noe wonder if hee bee well versed in the affairs pertinent to his function; though otherwise I think I have conversed with many men of better talents. The other is one they call Generall Trucchi, that is to say, grand Tresorier, a man of elevated parts, but of low extraction; I finde the Duke relies very much upon his abilities and fidelity, and to say the truth hee well deserves it. The manner of his being introduced into his master's service will affoord your Majesty a greate deale of satisfaction, as being full of passages very curious and not ordinary. I hope your Majesty will affoord mee the opportunity of relating it to you, it being fitter for your eare then for your eye.

This Government is monarchial, lesse limited then that of France, yet much better beloved then the other by his subjects, the reason of which your Majesty may collect from the carактер I have given of this Duke, who though hee has right to take from his people, not only what is necessary, but what hee is pleased to think soe, does yet make use of this prerogative with such moderation and treates his subjects with that clemency as render him wonderfully beloved by men of all conditions. I begin with the accompt of his debts, for I esteeme all Princes rich that are free of incumbrances of this kind, as the Duke of Savoy is; hee haveing payd those very great ones which his mother left upon him. The only remayning one is that of a million of crowns due to the Duke of Mantoa for Montferrat, of which 494,000 crownes of gold with interest for the same, the said Duke of Mantoa ought to receive from the Crowne of France, as was agreed at the treaty of Querasque.

Moreover the Duke has due to him the intire portion of the Infanta Catharina d'Espagna, which is a million of Crowns of gold, in right of whom hee is in a faire probability to succeed to the Crown of Spayn; being next heire, if the present King of Spayne and the Emperour dye issue-lesse. Hee has moreover very considerable summes in his treasure, and particularly in his Cittadell Ast, nor does hee value himself a little in being better provided with money and stores then any of his predecessors have yet been. The suñies which hee does receive from his people and from his own lands, court offices, and the like, in times of peace amount to 600,000 sterling; in times of warre much more. I am prepared to give your Majesty a particular accompt how and whence this treasure does arise, when you shall bee pleased to comānd it. His constant expences are about two-thirds of it, in his family, forces, buildings, &c. so that hee layes up some 200,000 sterling p Añ.

As to the interest of Savoy and the Duke's present designes, soe farre as I was able to penetrate into them, I must acquaint your Majesty that this Duke, led to it not only by that generall policy which makes all Princes jéalous and æmulous of their neighbours, but more particularly by a number of unkindnesses and incroachments of the French, is at a stand how to carry himself towards that monarch, who has already possessed himself of Pignerol, seated in the middst of this Duke's territories, and made, if not impregnable, yet very strong. Moreover, Dauphiné coasteth all the length of Savoy to the east from Beauuoisin to Suze, upon which place Chaumont borders within halfe a league. Some part alsoe of Dauphiné comes up within a league of Pignerol, and Briançon itself is but 18 miles English from it; soe that it is impossible this State can have any cordial affection

for soe powerfull, soe neere, soe inroaching, and soe fierce a Prince. Hence it is he endeavors to entertain soe good a friendship with the state of Venice, and other Princes of Italy, as knowing they hold to be equally their owne interest to preserve him, hee being their outwork as it were, and haveing the keys of severall inlets into Italy; and hence it is that he covets your Majesty's protection, which hee has soe oft repeated *in totidem verbis*, and I may safely tell your Majesty, if this Prince has any partiall affection for any one, it is for your Majesty and your people. Some little disputes there are between him and the Genoeses, but themselves as well as their neighbours are sollicitous enough to accomode such differences; though for my part I should think this Prince as likely as any one to come to a rupture, in regard hee is hasty, resolute, full of courage, and an undertaker. Towards the French hee is somewhat sharp, to say no more, and the young Prince, his sonne, doeth *patrizare*. I have two or three pretty passages on the accompt of this Prince to informe your Majesty, which, though light in themselves, may yet serve to confirme your Majesty in the beliefe of some things herein offered to your consideration. This Prince has great pretentions on the Montferrat, and I am apt enough to think he may probably attempt something there. There are alsoe some jealousies passe between him and Milan; but haveing a prospect of succeeding to the Crown of Spayne, tho remote, yet possible; or peradventure in respect of the great power of that monarch in Italy, of which his country has had woefull experience not long since, hee is rather desirous to keepe faire with the ministers of that King, and especially at this time, when to weaken that monarchy were but to strengthen another, whom hee apprehends much more. This Prince, as the rest of Italy, would upon any occasion erect such another alliance or confederation in the East as your Majesty has in the West. In the meane time they all consider your Majesty as their protector and benefactor, not sticking to ascribe the peace they enjoye to your Majesty's interests and influences.

The militiaes of this Prince are divided into 2 parts—those of Savoy, and those of Piedmont. Savoy being a mountainous barren province, yields not many soldiers, but they are esteemed to bee stout and hardy. Hee can upon occasion draw 6000 able foot, but no horse from thence, the country indeed being hardly capable of keeping any; but Piedmont is the province that yields him both men and money. The province is divided into 8 parts, or quarters, each of which has a militia of 10,000 men, all armed and disciplined; and reduced into regiments and companies, under Colonels, Captains, and other appointed officers. These, on occasion of invasion or warre, are to doe service any where in the Duke's domi-

nions, and out of these his Highnesse may arme 20,000 foot, and 5000 horse, all select, expert men, very good, and as ready at their armes. I doe not remember to have seen a man out of his owne house but with his gun upon his shoulder, in any of those countreys, especially in Savoy, where the woods and hills afford great store of game, and those his Highnesse can maintain without burthening or oppressing his people.

I will now descend to give your Majesty an accompt of the forces which hee entertains in this time of peace in constant pay; which are about 7000 foot in severall garrisons, besides the guards hee keepes about his person, which are one company of gentlemen archers, two companies of Suisse foot, a troop of Cuirassiers, and another of Arquebusiers. Madame Royale has likewise two troops of the same, as has Madame la Princesse, in all six troops, admirably well appointed, and in good order. The riders are most gentlemen. The troops consist of 60 men each, and may be in all 400, officers included. His foot guards are 300. Over and above those, hee entertains a regiment of horse in Piedmont, consisting of 10 troops, which make 600 horse effective, who are ready on all occasions.

His territories are well garrisoned. In Savoy there is not a mile of ground but affords many strong places, that is, scituations capable of impeding any force whatever. Montmelian, however, is the chief place of strength in that province, where hee alwayes keeps a strong garrison, and a large Magazin of Corne and Armes; some of the French King's territories, and one of his frontier forts lyes within sight of it, that is to say, within 2 English miles on the way from Grenoble thether, in Piedmont. Hee has Turin, a strong town, regularly fortified, the walls of freestone, the graffs very large, and easy to bee filled with water in a few howers, nor have I any where observed a towne soe watered as this is. The Duke has also in Turin a cittadel after the manner of that of Antwerp, with a well in it, where 500 horse may goe downe and up to and from the water, without hindring one another.

Hee has also Verceil, one of the strongest places of Europe; yet the Duke goes on fortifying and adorning it, not with earth, but good brick and freestone. There is now a garrison of 2500 in it. Besides these hee has Trin, Verrue, Hyvree, Ast, where the Conte de Maffé is governor with a garrison of 2000 soldiers, Villeneuve, Albe, Carmagnole, Querasque, Cuneo, Ceve, Suse, the forts of Bard and Verres. In these there are garrisons, and in time of warre he can clap soldiers into many other good towns. Hee has also garrisons in the citty and castle of Nizza, Villa Franca, and St. Hospitio. The castle of Nizza is reported to bee a very strong piece indeed; but, if once beseiged by land, I should not think it long tenable, in

regard neither this Duke, nor any of his ancestors, have ever yet attempted to keepe any vessels upon the sea, whereby to releive it that way. In these garrisons hee maintaynes the before-mentioned 7000 soldiers. Besides the places aforesaid, his Highnesse has many good citties well inhabited, and much bigger then Turin itselſe, as Saluces, Savillan, Fossan, Mondovi, Quiers, Chivaz, Brielle, Sainthia, Aoust, and others. His country is very well peopled, and Piedmont altogether as fruitfull as Savoy is barren.

This prince's Country is not very broad but long, from Pontbeauuosin to Verceil I esteeme it to bee 9 dayes journey at 30 English miles per diem, which is 270 miles, but in broadest parts it exceeds not 50.

This Duke's country abounds chiefly in raw silk, of which shee sends great quantities yearly to Lyon, Paris, Tours, Genoa, Florence, all which places work up this pretious commodity, and many of their own silks soe wrought up are brought hither again and here sold; now indeed they begin to set up silk manufactores of their own, and both doe and may affoord to undersell their neighbours 25 and 30 per cent. And on these termes they say they will furnish your Majesties subjects with excellent goods of the several sortes.

They are very ingenious, industrious, friendly, sociable, and honest in their dealings; the Duke himself, as also his ministers, extreamely desirous to court the English above all others to begin a commerce here, to which end they have caused an exact mapp or charte to bee made of the port of Villa Franca, which I sent to your Majesty. They have alsoe opened the wayes in order thereunto between Villa Franca and the Po, for all carts and waggons to passe, which is not above 2 dayes journey; and then by the said river they can transport through all Lombardy, even to Venice, sugars, salt, fish, stuffs, spices, lead, tynn, cloth, callicoes, &c., which now are landed at Genoa and Leghorne, and sent by mules over these and other provinces. Your Majesty may easily ghuesse that this conveyance being once opened, the trade of Genoa and Livorno will abate of what it now is. In order to this alsoe that prince did very readily as well as generously instruct mee with his part of the ratification of the treaty made by Sir John Finch, your resident at Florence, with the ministers of the said Duke of Savoy, for a free trade att Villa Franca; that part of the ratification which your Majesty ought to confirme, I am engaged by writeing and honor to see sent to him; and beseech your Majesty I may acquit myself of it as becomes mee.

This country can furnish your Majesty's subjects with wines, oyles, rossoli, corn upon occasion, oranges, leamons, sweets, all sorts of wrought silks, raw silk, ribbons, canvas, hempe, soape, strong waters.

This Duke has but little extent of territorie on the sea, and his subjects lesse accustomed to traffic. It will bee then a work of time before they bee invited to venture much abroad, which is not the worse for strangers. This Duke being, as I have represented, active, and a great undertaker, he may, I presume, designe to buy or build some ships or gallies, as his neighbours doe, and, it may bee, adventure somewhat in trade on his own account. Hee is now every day encouraging and inviteing his nobility and gentry to looke into trade, telling them hee will ayd and help them on all occasions. I conceive it is your Majesty's interest to encourage the trade of your subjects there, and for that end to entertain an agent or resident in this prince's court for some yeares, the better to countenance and support it at its beginning; and if your Majesty's subjects shall neglect this trade the Dutch will certainly stricke in with it, and that very soon.

Your Majesty will now permit mee to vary from the methode I have observed in my accompt of Savoy, the government of Genoa differing from it in all respects, soe that here I shall not trouble your Majesty with the relation of the governing family, or the persons who now are in credit, in regard that once in a yeare, or lesse, they are all removed. I shall therefore here, as alsoe at Venice, observe to your Majesty the manner of their government; secondly, their revenue, extent of territorie, forces, and trade; lastly, their present interest and designes.

The government of Genoa is aristocratical, where the patricians beare sway, who may bee neare 700 families besides absents; and such that have not attained the age of 22, till which they admit none into the grand council. Part of the Plebei are sometimes added to this body upon the account of money or merit. Out of this great council two hundred are every yeare elected, who ought to be at the least 27 yeares old; but I think the age is not alwayes exactly observed. Those are the lesser council.

There are two Colleges which preside over these 2 councils; one of 12 senators and the Duke, the other of 8 procurators and all such as have been dukes; which generally make this college consist of the same number with the other, as it does at this present, but not alwayes. These in conjunction are called *Sereni Collegi*, and treat of the most weighty affaires.

The Senate may call the procurators to attend them when they please, and they goe not but when called.

The first weeke in January these two colleges meet and convocate the lesser council, to the end the said council may make choice of 30 of the best cittisens,

who are to elect the lesser council for the next yeare. The said 30 meet the next day, and out of the body of the great council doe elect 200 for the purpose afore-said, which they generally dispatch in 2 or 3 dayes, soe that by the 12 or 15 of January the new lesser council is in execution of their authority.

Generally they choose the self same persons; with some variation in respect of such as are absent or dead.

The senators or procurators are chosen by the ballot in this manner: there is a box called *bussolo del seminario*, into which the names of 120 of the nobility are put, each being 40 yeares of age. Every six moneths they draw out five, as it happens; the three first are senators, the 2 last procurators for the two succeeding yeares.

For the constant filling this 120 the lesser councils meet the beginning of June before the two colleges, and each of them gives in the name of such persons as hee thinks fitt for the degree of a senator or procurator, who must bee 40 yeares old; then the whole council proceed to vote thrice upon every such name, and haveing considered how many are wanting to supply the 120, they set apart double that number, and soe carry them before the grand council, who out of such double number elect soe many as make up the 120, when either the great or lesse council meet. It must bee by the convocation of the two colleges, who must alsoe bee present.

When the Duke's two yeares bee expired, his successor is thus chosen as followeth: the colleges summon the great council, who being assembled are first numbred, and soe many balls made out as there are persons, of which 50 are guilt, the rest sylvered. The colleges draw noe lot, neither are any balls put in for them, in regard they cannot propose any man to bee Duke, but are afterwards to give their votes, as I shall informe your Majesty, they that draw the guilt ones retire, each man writeing downe the name of him whom hee thinks fitt to bee Duke, who must bee 50 yeares of age. Most times persons soe nominated by the said 50 are 20 at least, it being rarely seen that any three agree in one man; and, indeed, they must continue to propose untill twenty several persons are proposed. As soon as twenty are nominated then the said 50 proceed to vote man by man, and those 15 who have most votes are set apart to bee the next day proposed to the lesser council, who doe the like, and those six who have the most votes in the said lesser council are carryed back again to the grand council, where hee of the said 6 that has more votes is Duke, and in all those votings or ballotings the colleges have a part.

The said Duke and two senators may determine authoritatively some small

matters, and in case of urgency great things alsoe, but then they must immediately have recourse to the senate or colleges for their approbation.

Though the Duke and senators represent the State, yet are there those that judge even of the actions of every one of these. The Duke and colleges may doe all things not particularly by law excepted; as, for example, they may determine all civill controversies, or referre them to be determind; they can adnull or confirme wills and contracts, in a word, they rule and govern. In criminall matters neither they nor any of the nobility intermeddle to avoyd injustice, mallice, bribery, revenge; but they have forreign judges, whom they alsoe change every two yeares.

In all cases where the being of the State or Government is concerned both the colleges must meet and consult, sometimes calling on the lesser council to ayd, and in extraordinary cases the greater, in either of which two councils there are alwayes present 5 conservators of the lawes, who are to see that nothing passe contrary to law; and tho they have municipal lawes, yet to comply with exigency of times and other occasions, such lawes may bee altered or abrogated, the manner of which is thus: If the great councill propose, it must bee to the two colleges, who represent it to the lesser councill, and they again to the greater, where, if it then passes, it is a law; or else the two colleges propose it to the lesser council, and they carry it to the greatest one, and if there it passe it acquires the force of a law; but now, lawes which doe not alter or abrogate old ones may bee proposed by the two colleges to the lesser council, and if it passe it is a law, without the concurrence of the grand council. But over and above these two colleges and councils they have other peculiar magistracies for particular functions, it being thought unreasonable that the 2 legislators should always sit, and it is impossible the two colleges alone can determine all matters that would come before them.

They have 7 inquisitors, whose care is to prevent all publique dangers.

There are six who oversee all things relating to warre.

There are 5 who superintend granaries and stores.

And as many that consult all things relating to boates, ships, and gallies.

There are other 5 who supervise the walls, wayes, streets, moles, and aqueducts.

There are other 5 who regulate markets, weights, measures, and prices of all comodities.

They have 5 called syndics, who censure the actions of all such as have any publique authority or employment of what soever degree, high or low; but in case these syndics find occasion to proceed against any duke, senator, or procurator, whilst such, they must inform the lesser council of it, which said council (the

said 5 syndics presiding) may take cognisance of it, and acquit or condemn without convocating the 2 colleges or the greater council; and in all cases where the syndics alone condemn, an appeale lyes before the lesser council, but from thence not. In the last place they have certain magistrates called the protectors of St. George's howse, who are of very great authority in this state. The occasion of their erecting was this: In times of long and chargeable warres, when the public moneys were exhausted, this, as all other states, was forced to borrow money, and to farne out to such as would lend the public rents and incomes. To the end such lenders might bee secured, the commonwealth gave them authority to elect 400 out of themselves, whose duty it was to see that all such creditors were duly payd; and to the end the credit and interest might bee more revered, the commonwealth intrusted them with the priviledge of choosing the 8 procurators, together with some magistracies also. These take cognisance of all controversies, and crimes relating to public monies without appeale; they lett to farne, and receive all the customes, gabels, farmes, &c., and the powers they have are most religiously observed; whence it is that strangers and forainers repose such trust and faith in them as to leave their moneys in their banks, of which there is constantly in this treasury upwards of 5 millions of scudi d'oro; nor was it ever seen or known, in the greatest warres and calamities, that the state did soe much as cast an eye towards this treasury—a howse soe sacred, that even the heyres of condemned traytors, nay, traytors themselves, both before and after condemnation, have received and disposed of the sumes they had there deposited. Moneys here kept beare no share of the publick charge; and if any will let out their moneys here to the public they may receive $2\frac{1}{2}$ interest, and what the state can advance over and above the said $2\frac{1}{2}$ is employed in public works,—as the New Mold, a work great enough for a monarch to undertake; the new Lazaretto, capable of receiving 8,000 people; Fortifications wherein they spare no cost, as at Savona, Vada, and especially Corsica. Besides, the Stat has of their owne 5 millions of scudi d'oro in banke there.

The revenue of this state ariseth chiefly from their customes; as, for example, they draw yearly from that of wine 150,000 livers.

From that of oyles 180,000

From seminaries 120,000

From corn 100,000

Tabacco 100,000

From goods exported 200,000

Goods for strangers imported 200,000

They alsoe draw considerable summs from anchorage of ships, portions of woemen, creating of gentlemen, fines, forfeitures, amerciaments, which amount unto yearly 200,000

Maritime towns and inland citties doe alsoe helpe to encrease the public revenue to a considerable degree; many are at a certainty with the State, some more, some less. Séstri alone pays yearly 100,000

Nor are the private persons lesse rich, the moneys of this state setting the law and exchange on all the moneys and trade in Europe; and well they may bee rich in moneys, seeing they are soe poore in land, their country being little and barren, soe that there is noe roome left to lay out any thing in purchasing, but are forced to keep their moneys at interest in trade, or, which is worst, dead by them.

Vintimiglia is the frontiere towne from Genoa towards the west, and is distant from it one hundred Italian miles; not but that Final, which is the King of Spayne's, and Oneglia which is the Duke of Savoy's, intercept their free passage by land; besides, the Duke of Savoy layes clayme also to Savona.

Her inland territories are very narrow, the broadest not exceeding 20 miles, and in many places not eight; the generality of it also is mountaynous and barren, though they have some vallies rich in abundance, both in fruit and corn, as some of their hills are in olives, chesnutts, and vines.

It has eleven walled citties. It has one archbishoprick, viz., of Genoa, and six bishoprics, towards the west. It is limited by the river Varo, and towards the sea by Macra.

The forces of this and of most republiq' consist more in mercenary soldiers then natives, soe that upon occasion they use to hire 10,000 or more as they have occasion; their pay is good and certain, so that they cannot want; now that they are in a secure place they entertain 2600 soldiers in severall garrisons.

They have in and about their citty 8000 who are of their militias, being listed and reduced into companies and regiments, but they rely not much on them, as indeed none of the princes of Italy doe on their owne countrymen; who generally are effeminated and enervated either by vice, peace, or luxury; for sure it is they inherite not the ancient courage or vertues of the Romans and Latines; but Genoa need not much feare; her country being almost impregnable through the barrennesse and rockinesse thereof; they live therefore in too great security to be good soldiers in fight, whatever they may bee in handling their armes: the Genoeses have some places very well fortified and strong by nature also, as Savona, Gavi, and Santa Maria; in Corsica they have Bonifacio and Calvio, two very strong places; Corsica and Liguria together (for soe the state of Genoa is called) may

have 70 thousand lusty men, fit enough for warre in respect of body, but not to bee much relied upon: 45 thousand of which number are of the terra ferma, the other 35 thousand of Corsica. Genoa has alsoe an armory with 30 thousand good armes in it. This state has now six gallies and is building six more; she has alsoe 2 men of warre of 60 guns each; besides there are alwayes kept 6 gallies more by private persons in their port for the service of the King of Spayne, who payes them yearly 60 thousand livers each, soe that the proprietors of those gallies have noe ill time of it, seing they seldome are upon service, and they let their slaves shift for themselves. This state has some 1500 slaves, Turks and Christians, for their gallies; and besides these they have neere 2500 slaves more in the town, whom they make use of about domestick occasions.

This State does every 2 yeares make a cense of their houses and inhabitants; the last was of 25,000 houses, and somewhat under a hundred thousand inhabitants. This disproportion ariseth hence; in 1657 they laboured under a great plague, which from 100,000 they then were reduced to 50,000, by which reason very many of their houses are yet uninhabited; nay, in some whole streets few people are to bee seen; yet such is their pride and ostentation that they goe on building, and I believe in a few yeares they will have filled all that vast mountainous space of ground which lyeth behind the city inclosed within the outer walls which are 8 miles about, with pallaces, villas, gardens, houses of delight, and the like. One great reason of the paucity of their inhabitants I conceive to bee, the men seldome marry till they are forty, and then for the most part their power of propagation spoyled; another is, the draynes of religious houses. There are about 100 Jewes, I meane public ones, that live in this citty; and in truth a stranger would judge most of the men and women hee meets were of that nation; but I doe not think that the Genoeses are, as their malicious neighbours say, Jewes, in regard they are too hard and crafty for the Jewes. In all other places of Italy the Jewes thrive and live well, here they are all beggars, and cannot get a subsistance.

The trade and commerce stands thus: they furnish England with argal, soape, hemp, rice, oyle, oranges, leamons, paper, corall, silkes of all sorts, and marble; they receive from us all sorts of woollen manufactures, lead, tynn, hydes, tobacco, sugars, fish, all sorts of Indian commoditys, linnings, spice, dying wares, druggs, &c. most of which they transport over land by mules and waggons into Lombardy and up to Venice itself.

The Genoeses use all strangers very ill, and your Majesties subjects as bad as any; their nobility are all traders, but when the merchants have any demands, however just, upon them, it is impossible to procure any right against them. There

are many complaints of this kind now on foot. I endeavoured what I could in it; brought away very faire promises that all should be ended according to my desires, but since I find nothing effected. I foresee your Majesty will have applications made to you to use some more effectuall meanes to procure them to doe your subjects right, and I think your Majesty might give them a great blow by encouraging the trade at Villa Franca, and causing your marchants to withdraw from Genoa, at least threatning them with it; this is certain, when once the trade of Villa Franca is open, Genoa will loose very much of the commerce she now has. Possibly in this juncture of time, and dureing the jealousy this state has of Villa Franca, your Majesty might obtayne considerable advantages by a body of articles from this state for your marchants, if your marchants think fit to continue a trade there; and at the same time procure them to doe your subjects reason, whereas now their nobility are in truth above the law, which makes it a businesse befitting your Majesty to interpose in. I believe there may bee at least £20,000 sterling due to your subjects, which the respective debtors are well able to pay, but cannot bee compelled to it for the reasons aforesaid.

Genoa was running altogether into Spayne, even when Spayn was in its height, contrary to the policy of all the rest of the Italian princes and states; the truth is, they drove a great trade with that monarch both in Spayne and the Indies, lent him moneys, furnished him with gallies, men, ammunition, &c. conformed themselves to the Spanish habit, and in a word were in a faire way of being swallowed up by that monarchy, many of her greatest nobility being suspected to have such designs; but at length the State being advised of it began to looke about and court the French, not soe much for love to that nation as to their own preservation, and this they did notwithstanding the French King styles himself Lord of Genoa.

They alsoe discountenanced all such as were of the Spanish faction, and have opened a commerce between Provence and their citty, by which they are furnished with all sorts of provisions, which formerly came from Sicily, Naples, &c. At this time the rest of their neighbours esteeme them to bee right set for the public interest of Italy. Genoa has noe jealousy of any neighbour but the Duke of Savoy, whose pretences upon Savona keep them on their guard; but that Duke will find it difficult to force that town from them soe long as hee has noe ships nor gallies of his owne able to master them, unlesse some prince powerfull at sea should ayd and assist him, and in such case I conceive the difficulty would not bee very great, for that the territories of Savoy lye very neare it, and 'twere no difficult thing to bring 10,000 men before it in 3 or 4 dayes time; the place, however, is very strong both by art and nature.

I parted from Genoa in a gally assigned mee by that republique, according as your Majesty's commands directed me, to Livorno, where at my disembarking Sir John Finch informed mee of the grand Duke's death, who in the time of his sicknesse (out of a true sense of the honor your Majesty had been pleased to doe him) had given such orders for my reception as, being continued by his successor the present Duke, though my credentials were not directed to him, yett was I received with all the honors and respects the father could have shewn towards mee. Hee received your Majesty's letters of credence, though addressed to his father, and entred into a treaty of negotiation with me for the bettering the condition of your subjects who trade at Livorno; in all which hee expressed a great kindnesse and propensity to comply with anything your Majesty could desire from him. True it is I was not received with some public testimonies of joye usually practised towards others invested with that character your Majesty had been pleased to honor mee withall, in regard his highnesses father had not been dead above 10 or 12 dayes, otherwise I dare assure your Majesty there was nothing left unsayd or undone that might expresse even the greatest deference and observance towards your Majesty in the person of your unworthy minister.

I was defrayed from my landing to the last towne in his territories: his highnesse also caused his letters to bee sent to the legates of Bologna and Ferrara, by which places I was to passe, to advertise them of my qualification, and to dispose them to treat mee with that honor which is due to your Majesty's servants in the condition you had put mee; hee sent mee also a present, which your Majesty has seen, the first I had received since my comeing out. I am the more particular in these things, that your Majesty may see what impressions you have made in the minde of that most excellent prince, who I am sure is a passionate lover, as well as great admirer of your Majesty.

I shall hold myself excused from giveing your Majesty any character of him, since hee is personally known to you; neyther need I say much of the Dutchesse, whom your Majesty cannot but have seen in the court of France, by whom hee has only one child, a sonne, of some 5 yeares of age, who seemes not to bee very strong grown. The Duke has one brother also, il Prencipe Francesco, a youth of 11 or 12 yeares of age; no very strong constitution; whose province it is by the custome of this court to receive all ambassadors at their comeing, and to conduct them at the departure. This Duke has one unkle liveing, the Cardinal de Medicis, who at my being at Florence was at Rome, so that I can say little of him.

It was the common voyce of all men whilst I was there that the present

Duke would pursue his father's way of government: at that time hee had not made any change in the governors his father employed, nor since, as I heare, Marquis Richardi excepted. It is believed hee will prove a prince of singular esteeme, in regard of his many good qualities; that hee has seen the world; and is very generous, in which some of his family are thought to have been a little deficient.

This prince governs by himself in chief, and for his ease hee is pleased to have a cabinet council, as his father had, which yet consisteth of 2 persons only besides himself, the Marquis Ricardi, who is chief steward, and Conte Bardi, who is Secretary of Warre and Chief Minister. Hee has the Conte de Nouellari, who is Lord Chamberlaine, and in great favour, as is also the Marquis Vitelli, captain of his guards. The master of his horse is Marquis Corsini. Marquis Cerbon del Monti is master of the wardrobe. Danti di Castiglioni, who attended his highnesse in England, is first gentleman of his bed chamber. Signor Leonardo Tempi, a marchant, but a gentleman, is a treasurer. These are all in good credit with him, and hee adviseth with them as hee sees occasion, but communicates little of his secret thoughts and designs to any but the two first, who are of his cabinet council. Ferrante Caponi and Auditore Farinola are his judges in causes criminal, the first being alsoe his attorney generall in his ecclesiasticall matters.

The grand Duke's territories are not very well peopled, nor indeed is any part of Italy, soe occasioned chiefly by the church, which draynes them exceedingly; but as to his dominions particularly other reasons may bee assigned, which, perhaps, are not soe fitt to be named. I will observe to your Majesty one I remarked between the two towns of Pisa and Livorno. In the former there were once four hundred thousand inhabitants, and they frequently entertayned 130 or 140 gallies at sea at such time as they contended with Venice and Genoa, but now it lyeth desolate and uninhabited, haveing scarce 10,000 soules in it, and of those at least one-third appertayning to the church, there being 22 monasteries and 17 nunneries in it, the least of which has sixty persons, and many one hundred in them; besides, there are at least 500 secular priests who are not in orders; the town miserably poore, in many streets not an inhabitant, but grass growing in all of them; and, since I am on the subject of the church, I begg your Majesty's permission to make a short digression. It was my hap to dine at a monastery of Franciscans between Livorno and Florence, where I was entertained by the Grand Duke's family. In the church I found a printed paper, contayning the summary of a Cense made of their order in 1648, at which time there were 180 thousand men of it, and 210 thousand women,—farr bee it from mee to call them maydes;

and lastly, 26 thousand howses of this order then standing. I submit it to your Majesty to make inferences and deductions; but to returne to Livorno, between which and Pisa I was making some kind of corollary. Livorno, which within these threescore yeares had not 1,000 inhabitants, is now by trade encreased to thirty thousand, of which say they there are 9,000 Jewes, 6,000 strangers, about 1,000 soldiers, and the rest Italians; but for my part I think they reckon 6,000 too many, for I cannot conceive how soe little a place can contayne soe many people. They begin to complaine of the decay of trade; that is to say, that the Grand Duke's own subjects doe not consume soe much as formerly they did, and some observing persons there are who impute it to the decrease of his subjects. The last Grand Duke made it his businesse to keep them poore, which 'tis thought has made them also fewer, as well as poorer; many of them retiring dayly, especially of the Pisans, into other states and territories; but I would not have your Majesty uninformed that the Pisans, being a conquered people, doe abhorre the government and family of the Medicis, soe that possibly these dukes may have reason in what they doe, especially if faire meanes make no impressions on them. As Livorno is the only place of traffic in this Duke's territories, soe is it alsoe of strength, and guarded proportionably. The fortifications are very regular, and well mayntained. They were designed by a subject of your Majesty, though hee withdrew himself from his country, old Rob. Dudley, the titular Duke of Northumberland, whose sonne I saw at Bologna. The towne has 4 companies of foot in it, the governor's consisting of 350 men, the second company consisting of 250, and the two last each of 200, in all a thousand; most Germans; none of the princes of Italy affecting to have their own subjects acquainted with the use of armes. The governor of the town is the superintendent of the justice, the governor of the armes is a separate thing, and they are not subordinate to one another, soe that between these two there used to bee often peekes and grudges, but at present they, being brothers, agree very well. Their names are Sacresterio, and the later is a knight of Malta. There are two other governments within this place, independent and separate, who act by orders and directions from Florence, and are not under the governor's command, viz. the old and new forts. The captain of the port too has separate commission, and is not under the governor's authority. The designe of this multiplicitie of officers is to prevent any intelligence amongst them to the prejudice of their lord and master. Sir Bernard Gascoyne had been governor of the towne without all doubt, had not the late Duke's favorite, and who was Sir Bernard's friend and kinsman, dissuaded the Grand Duke from it, upon this single account, that there being frequent disputes and æmulations between your Majesty's subjects, the Dutch, and other foreigners, it was to bee

feared Sir Bernard's affection to the English might induce him soe farr to take their parts on all occasions as to disgust the others, and force them to forsake the port, to the ruine of the trade there in a great measure.

Florence may have some 70 thousand inhabitants in it on a strict account, and all the Grand Duke's subjects doe not exceed a million and a halfe, soe that your Majesty may compute his strength. His revenue is at the least 400,000 sterling per annum, which he drawes from his customes, gabels, land taxes, the church, his owne domaines, and trade. His expences doe not exceed the one halfe of it, soe that it is conceived hee may have at least three millions and halfe of pieces of eight in banco, besides a vast treasure in gold and sylver plate, pictures, jewels, and such like curiosities.

Hee keeps many garrisons on his frontiers towards the Spanish and ecclesiasticall territories, but they are in small forts rather then great towns, and not above 100 in a place, in all to the number of 2,000; most foreigners.

Hee entertaynes only 3 gallies; his predecessors usually kept six and seven, but reduced them to the aforesaid number, finding them of late to bee uselesse; the style of sea affayres altering as factions doe at land. Noe galley can withstand our new fine light-sayling frigates.

These two gallies your Majesty has ordered to bee built at Genoa and Pisa went but slowly on before I came thither; how they have done since I know not.

The Duke's port of Livorno is the scale of trade of all the Mediterranean sea, and it is a magazen where our comodities of spice and linning are landed, to bee afterwards dispersed over all Italy, into Turkey, Barbarie, &c.

They receive also and disperse great quantities of your Majesty's cloth, lead, tynn, stuffs, fish; and your Majesty's subjects there made certain proposals to mee for the removing some impediments, and procureing other advantages in trade. I transmitted them to my Lord Arlington, after I had represented them to the Duke, who received them with great readinesse, and assured mee of his propense desires to doe every thing that might ease your Majesty's subjects in their commerce within his states. The little stay I made there rendered it impossible for mee to perfect them; besides, your Majesty's instructions directed the leaving that province to your Majesty's resident there, Sir John Finch. This I conceive a fit juncture of time for your Majesty to procure a body of articles and concessions for trade there, which may secure and preserve many benefitts to your subjects. I will give your Majesty two reasons for this my judgement; first, I conceive the present Duke to bee well inclined to your Majesty's person and people in regard of his knowledge both of the one and the other. I am sure hee professes it very much. Secondly, I conceive hee is jealous, least the Duke of Savoy by his franck

procedure in his treaty should draw away your merchants to Villa Franca, a place as well seated and adapted for trade as any port of Italy; and the people I conceive much better, they being not soe crafty, jealous, and unconvertible as the Italians; neither soe light and inconstant as the French; but of an open, honest, affable genius.

All the princes and states of Italy who border on the sea are contriveing, à *l'envie* of each other, which of them shall draw more pigeons to his dove coate; soe that your Majesty may prevaile on this occasion to obtayne any thing in reason which you can propose. I foresee only one obstacle which your Majesty will find a difficulty in, soe priest-ridden they are all here, that I feare it will bee impossible to obtayne any exercise of religion for your merchants, who though I think have noe great concerne for any such priviledge, yet it would redound much to your Majesty's honor and interest, as you are a Protestant monarch, if the freedom of such exercise could bee obtained. The Grand Duke, as soon as I proposed it to him, did most readily assent to it, as a thing which hee thought would bee acceptable to your Majesty as well as advantageous to trade itself, provided the merchants would use this indulgence with that discretion that the Pope might take noe umbrage; assuring mee hee for his part would not recall it untill the Church took notice of it, whom hee was bound to obey right or wrong; adding, the Church would not take information of it unless they were too open and scandalous (soe hee tearmed it) in the exercise of it. Hee was pleased to confirme this once and again; but I perceive now of late the Church stormes against Venice, Genoa, Legorne, and Savoy, for some connivances in this kind practised in the three first, and promised by the last alsoe. In Venice the inquisition is *nomen inane*, that State holding fast their authority in ecclesiastical as well as civill matters, and they find it drawes a great confluence of marchants to them who have freedom in religion; Genoa attempting the other day by their ambassador at Rome, Il Signior Durazzo (who had the same character here to your Majesty), to obtayne the like exemption from that jurisdiction. The Office fell upon the debate of Florence and Savoy, which I have before observed to your Majesty, and which is now in agitation. Since my takeing leave of the state of Venice, the Venetians have indeed got some little head of the Church, but the rest of the states of Italy are in great awe of the Pope, soe as in these cases they dare doe nothing that may clash with their holy father, who can arme even their own subjects against them, especially if they bee second and third-rate princes.

Touching the interest and present designes of this family, though they were advanced to their state by Charles the 5th, whose natural daughter Alexander de

Medicis the first Duke married, yet they soon began to weane themselves from the interests of the howse of Austria, as knowing they who made them might easily unmake them; soe that for their own preservation they openly courted the French, and continue soe to doe to this day, though at present it bee upon other motives. The territories of the Grand Duke are every where surrounded by the dominions of the King of Spayne and the Pope, soe that both the power and vicinity of that King makes him jealous and vigilant upon all his motions. His policy and interest is to mayntaine the peace of Italy, and though hee courts the French, yet it is not with any designe of bringing himself under that protection, nay at this present both the Grand Duke, as all the rest of the princes, who are content with their portions, are rather afrayd of the French then of the Spanyard, the condition of those 2 monarchs haveing received a mighty change within this 40 yeares, which has also changed their interests, unto which they are very constant; they doe owe, and all impute, the peace they now enjoye to your Majesty's wisdom and influence in the triple allyance for which they own you as their patron and benefactor.

I find all the princes of Italy contriveing wayes rather of finesse then force for their support; which makes mee doubt there are few of them to bee relyed upon in any league, soe apt they are to play fast and loose, as it best suites with their humors and designes.

I shall not bee more particular in the relation of this Duke's territories, interest, revenue, or present posture, in regard your Majesty has entertained a minister soe many yeares in that place, who, being now upon his returne, will bee able to give your Majesty both a more exact and fresher account of that court; from whence, after 3 dayes' stay only, I departed towards Bologna, where the cardinal legate sent severall coaches with six horses to meet mee, and, within halfe an houre after I was alighted at my inn, sent mee a present of all sorts of provisions and confitures, which I acknowledged to him by my secretary, who was received by him very civilly. The next day I passed forward to Ferrara, where I was met with the same entertainment, and observed the same method; and soe to Venice; where I continued 20 dayes incognito, partly to get my gondolas ready, and my house (the biggest and best in Venice) furnished; but principally I was detayned soe long by a difficulty the college made to receive mee in the Cloyster, which I insisted upon, and was at length after long disputes granted. The case being not ordinary, I shall humbly beg your Majesty's permission to acquaint you with it before I fall upon the relation of that government. It has ever been the Venetians' custome to receive ambassadors in a certain island called Santo Spirito (antiently a convent

of fryars), 5 miles distant from the town, to which place a cavalier of principal quality, attended by 60 senators in their robes, are appointed to meet them in an upper roome, where the ambassadors did constantly give the hand to the said cavalier, from the chamber where he was received unto his gondola, by reason that chamber and place was understood to bee the howse of the said ambassador. This practice constantly continued till about 6 yeares since, that the Count Sernini, extraordinary ambassador from the emperor, to avoyd giveing the hand would needs bee received in the church, alledging that to bee a third place, and consequently the hand due to him, which after some dispute was yielded to by the senate.

Not long after this, arrived an ambassador from Spayne, who insisted upon the same priviledge, and had it granted; but the cavalier arriving in the church went strait up to the altar, and there kneeling down, as did all the senators, left the ambassador standing alone for some time.

This present French ambassador, who arrived some moneths after, had the same successe, but in some measure avoyded the affront, by kneeling down at the same time with them.

This put mee upon the difficulty of a hard choice, either to receive the said cavalier in my chamber, and consequently give the hand, or in the church, where, being the minister of a Protestant prince, it was impossible to avoyd the same affront they had before given to the Spaniard; to obviate both which inconveniences, I demanded permission to receive the said cavalier in the cloyster, which being a third place hee could not pretend the hand, nor myself meet with any neglect by his going up to the altar; but this was for several dayes absolutely refused, untill they understood plainly from me that I could not make my entry upon other terms untill I had received your Majesty's comands from England; and that I believed your Majesty would call mee back, which apprehension pre-vayled with them (though very unwillingly) to make me this concession.

I shall not further trouble your Majesty with the circumstances of my entry, or other ceremonies relating to it, which, I may say, was not short of any that had ever preceded; but fall upon the relation of the government itself.

The government of Venice is aristocratical in truth, though it have the appearance of the monarchical, and somewhat of the democratical too.

The supream power and authority of the commonwealth resteth in them who are at this time about 700 of the nobility, and forme the body of the great council. Hence it is that this government has some shew of being popular, seing there are soe many who have a share in it, and that the vertue or wealth of the cittisens may open the dores of the nobility to them also.

1.
The Great Council.

This Great Council does dispense much of its executive power and authority to other officers and magistrates, yet still retaines their primitive right in the enacting, abrogating, and amending lawes, in distributeing magistracies, in conferring dignities, and the like. These choose the Duke, create the College, erect the Pregadi. In a word, this is the mayn spring that gives motion to all the other wheeles of this government.

2.
The Senate called Pregadi, because they were *pregati di venire al consiglio* as often as occasion required the meeting of them. The last 60 are chosen by vote, not lot, to the end judgement not affection should elect them.

The Pregadi are properly the senate, to whom the grand council reserveth matters of peace and warre, the supervisal of the introitus and exitus of the public treasure, imposition of new levies or subsidies, creating new temporary offices, matters of state, and the most important affaires of the Republic. Antiently this council consisted of 60 only, called *ordinarij*; afterwards 60 more added as their government enlarged, called *della Gionta*. In processe of time the whole criminall council of 40. All the college consisting of 26.

The Procurators of St. Mark that were added gave during the warre 20,000 d. each for that honor, but as they die, they are not to bee filled up, but reduced to 9 again, who are still called of merit as the other are of money.

The Council of X, consisting of that number in this our computation (though otherwise, the Duke and the six counsellors of the college are added to them, which makes them 17); the Procurators of St. Mark, originally 9 only, now 36; the master over salt and corne; all Ambassadors after they returne from their embassies, and some others who have undergone public and weighty employments: soe that at this time they consist of 276.

3.
The College.

The College consisteth of the Duke, six counsellors, one for every of the six quarters of the citty, three Capi, or heads of the 40 criminal judges, six Savij grandi, five Savij di terra ferma, and 5 Savij alli ordini; in the whole 26.

4.
The Duke or Doge: *primicerio* is overseer of the wax candles and lampes, &c.

The Duke has little or noe authority besides that of makeing the Primicerio of St. Mark's church. Some few cannons' places hee disposeth of; and some few offices not pertayning to the government. Hee has nothing of sovereignty but the names, title, and a ducal capp; yet they allow that moneys should bee coyned in his name, but not by him; and public letters are directed to him. Hee has noe guards, is rather an honorable prisoner than a prince; but one supream Prince they would have, to fill a place which otherwayes some man's ambition might aspire to.

They choose them old, to the end the dignity may passe into many families in a little time. His servants are all hired by the state, and payd by them too. They seldom choose any whilst he is married, yet hee is the fourth or fifth only that ever was soe chosen.

Hee never stirs his cap but to a soveraigne prince or cardinal. The Doge, with 3 of the 6 counsellors of the purple robe, and one of the three Capi of the 40 criminal judges, forme the representative of the State, or body of the Prince.

The six Counsellors are chosen, viz., one out of every of the six quarters of the city; the oldest in sickness or absence of the Duke, is a kind of Vice duke, for hee takes his place, and heares all those causes which the other ought to doe. They hold but eight moneths, dureing which the Duke does nothing without them.

5.
The six Counsellors.

The three Capi, or heads, of the 40 criminal judges, have place in the colledge in the right of the said magistracy: of these more hereafter.

6.
The heads of the
quarantia or 40
criminal judges.

The six Savij grandi, or Savij del consiglio, after the colledge is up, retire with the five Savij di terra ferma into a consulto, where they discourse, digest, and prepare matters for the senate, which are carryed thither by the Savio of that weeke (for they take their turnes), and in his time hee may propose what hee pleases.

7.
Savij grandi.

The Savij di terra ferma are 5, and of a lower forme then the former, yet they retire and consult with them. They have a vote in the colledge, but not in the senat. They choose two amongst themselves, one to bee cash keeper, who receives and payes all public moneys according to order, and the other to secretary or superintendent of the Militias. The Savij alli ordini are five, and are young men, who have place in colledge, only to heare and observe the methods and rules of government. Now the businesse here transacted are matters of petitions, opening of letters, receiving of ambassadors; unto whom for the present the doge gives some general answer of respect; the point of businesse being reserved to the Senate, and this is all they have in a manner to doe.

8.
Savij di terra ferma.

Savio cassiere.

9.
Savij alli ordini.

The Procurators of St. Mark were formerly 9 only, now 36, the 27 which are added paying money for it in the warrs, and are thence styled Procurators of Money, as the other nine are of Merit. They have place and vote in senate, are exempt from ambassies, unlesse extraordinary ones, as also they are from governments, many of which are very expensive. They are of great honour, and hold during life. They have, however, but little authority, unlesse it bee the oversight of St. Mark's Church, of orfanes, and pupils, and some such like charitable matters. They enter not into the Council of X, nor into the Great Council; but when the great council meets, the procurators ought to bee in the court to direct and command the officers of the arsenal, who are then there as a guard. They goe all in scarlet, as the Duke does.

Procurators of St.
Mark, vid. ant. para-
graph 2.

This Council of X consisteth now of 17. The Duke and the six counsellors being added to them. This council is exactly of the nature of our cabinet councils, as they are now used in England, France, Spayne, &c. with two differences, first, the Duke enters not, but when sent unto; secondly, they have infinitely more authority to heare and determine the very greatest things; they can judge the Duke himself, or any other magistrates. Their generalissimi after their three yeares service

11.
The Counsel of X.

purge themselves here with feare and trembling, more, peradventure, then in a battle. They punish most rigorously and capitally all treasons, revealers of secrets of State, defrauders of public moneys, but cannot proceed against a noble Venetian without interesting the whole council.

They have impenetrable wayes to discover secrets and offenders; they are masters of the denoncias against perjuries, invaders of the government, &c. and their authority is very great, as it ought to bee, to prevent disorders and to punish great offenders.

12.
The counsel of the
40 criminal judges.

Quarantia civil
vecchia.

Quarantia civil
nova.

The Quarantia criminale is a supream council too, and consists of forty, and there are three counsellors preside there who represent the person of the Prince. They are most of them of the nobility of the second forme, to that end those of the first rank should not ingrosse all. They have place and vote in the senate. There are other two magistracies each consisting of 40. The former determineth appeales in things arising in the citty, as the second does in things arising on the terra ferma; they succeed each other every 16 moneths, the second coming into the place of the first, and the third of the second, soe that in time they all come into the Senate, and have knowledge of matters of weight. These are the chief magistracies, and are of greater authority in the republique.

Present state of
Venice, 1670.

In-relation to the
peace and the Turks.

I will now consider the present state of this Comonwealth in relation to her neighbours. Shee has lately made peace with the Turk, and most probable it is this peace may continue, at least soe long as the public one of Christendome does; the Turk generally takeing advantage of our dissensions, to devoure us one after another. Besides, seing with what difficulty and expence of men and treasure hee has managed a warre against this state, it is not probable hee will attacque them yet awhile; the private divisions in his own family, and some discontents at home, induce mee to believe that monarch will breath awhile, before hee attempts anything against this state, whatever hee may doe against some other Christian princes.

Their public debts.

Trade.

Stores.

The state of Venice dureing the 25 yeares warre has incurred great debts, haveing consumed on a strict account 180 millions of duckats. They have alsoe lost a great part of the trade they formerly had, and lastly exhausted their stores of warre. To recruite these is their present designe, which they hope to accomplish under the benefit of the present peace, and to that end they spread all their netts to discharge their debts. They reduce interest from 7 to 4 per cent. They goe on selling the remainders of Church lands assigned by the late Pope to bee employed in the warre. They retrench their militias by sea and land. They improve their revenue by exact menage, and they take the utmost advantages of

confiscations. To encrease trade, they give all encouragement imaginable; the port being free, the Turks begin to come thither in some numbers, and the State treats them with all kindnesse; they are every day recruiting their arsenall with all necessaries, and they hold this as needfull as paying of their debts, or haveing money in their purses; and to this end they appropriate 250 thousand duckats per annum; which rightly applyed will goe a great way in it.

Their revenue is almost 4 millions of duckats per annum.

Revenue.

Their charge is about 3 millions and a halfe.

Charge.

Their militia by land in garrisons is 2000 foot, and about 1100 horse; by sea they maintayn 5 shippes, 24 galleys, and 4 galeasses; these are their constant guards upon establishment. In their fleet they expend 360,000 duckats annually, and in their land soldiers somewhat above half as much.

Militias by land.

Fleet by sea.

The Venetians are in their lives and conversation vitious enough, and not lesse carefull to preserve their spirituall then their civil liberties. Dureing the late warres, induced by necessity, and bribed by the Pope with the liberty of dissolving two orders and selling their lands, which amounted to 800 thousand dukats, they gave way with much unwillingnesse that the Jesuites might inhabite there, but in conversation they keepe at distance.

In relation to religion.

A breach between the Pope and them would ruine both, and involve all Italy in warre and destruction. It is certain that the Pope has pretention just enough, which yet he dares not set on foot. The Polisene di Rovigo is part of the Dutchy of Ferrara, which whole dutchy was bought by the apostolic see in the time of Clement 8, to the infinite regret of the commonwealth; but, for the reasons aforesaid, the Popes dare not attempt the recovery of it. This state seemes to stand well enough with Savoy, nor does there appeare any probable cause of breach, unless it bee for the ayry title of King of Cypress to which both pretend; but they will doubtlesse joyne to preserve and mayntaine each other, wherein the public peace of Italy is concerned, and of which that Duke keeps a strong key.

To the Pope.

Savoy.

This State keepes a good intelligence with the house of Medicis, which family, though rayzed by the Austrians, yet finding itself surrounded by Spanish garrisons, and that the Kings of Spaine are powerfull enough in Italy to oppresse it, does maintayne a neutrality, seeming however more addicted to France than Spayne; but, however, this state is very confident that prince would never bee content to see the armes of France planted in Italy, and entertaines a strict intelligence with that family, as being well assured they will alwayes joyne hand with this republique for the keeping out of strangers and maintayning the public peace.

Florence.

Genoa.

As to Genoa, all the world knowes the antient animosities and rancors that have been between this and that common wealth, which are not yet forgotten, at least by the Venetians; for even when the Venetians in the late warres were offered ayds and helpes from the Genoeses, provided their forces might goe jointly together, this state slighted and rejected the motion. There is noe apparent cause of any unkindnesse between these two henns of the game. Venice did one while consider Genoa with a jealous look whilst they were soe mightily ligued with the Spaniard, but now begins to have some esteeme of their policy and foresight, since they have found a way to maintaine a correspondance with France, by which meanes the navigation of Provence being open, the citty of Genoa is well supplied with provisions, without being necessitated to expect them from Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

Mantua.

The state of Venice has alwayes endeavoured to maintayn a good intelligence with the Duke of Mantua, styling him her sonne; and indeed on all occasions testified a parental care of him; frequently engaging herselfe in his quarels, the better to assure his dependance upon her, and secure Casal in Montserrat, which serves as a bulwark to all Italy on that part of it.

Modena.

As to Modena, the state of Venice has alwayes endeavoured to maintaine a good correspondence with the Duke of Modena, but begun to look about her when she understood that Duke Francis was of an active, unquiet, ambitious temper, desirous of enlargeing his narrow bounds, particularly that he was intent upon the recovery of Ferrara, induced thereunto from an opinion hee had that the people of that province were weary of their new churchmen, and longed for their old masters. The said Duke went to Madrid to engage the king in his behalf, but received a denyall; from thence hee went to Paris, and received a ready promise, provided hee would first ayd them to conquer Milan. The French knew they had nothing in Italy to loose, soe that they run noe great hazard. The Pope was not uninformed of it, and the Venetians, to necessitate the said Duke to retire from such designes, were desirous the Pope should put a strong garrison into the place, and all this to preserve the peace of Italy, which alone renders her considerable in the eyes of the rest of the monarchs of Europe.

Parma.

The republique of Venice does usually preserve a faire correspondence with the Duke of Parma, who reciprocally endeavours the same, and to that end enter-tayns always a resident in Venice; but soe it happened, some eight yeares since, that the said resident, pretending to keep a butchery and a buttery in his howse, the Senat sent to him to forbear it, which hee not doing, they complained to the Duke, who recalled him indeed, but yet tooke the senat's complaint to heart, for

That is would give
license to sell wine,
flesh, and bread in
his howse, a con-
siderable advantage
in itself, but in-
jurious to the State.

hee presently gave sufficient evidencies of his dissatisfaction by sending all those that were condemned as slaves in his territories unto the state of Genoa, whom untill that time hee had constantly sent to Venice.

This State has not soe cordiall and sincere affection for any people as for the Suisses and Grisons, because, first, shee has noe jealousy of them, and secondly they, like herself, are chiefly intent upon preserving their liberty and freedom; the maine end of all Republicques. This republicque will certainly joyn with either of the two crownes against that which shall endeavor to usurpe the Grisons and the Valtoline; as shee did between France and Spayne, not out of love to the former but out of self-preservation, the state of Venice desiring to keepe things in Italy in the condition wherein they now are. True it is this State never makes use of these in any of her warres. The reason I conceive is, because they are her neighbours, and if any of such auxiliarys should play them a trick, there are more at hand to second them. But withall this State does indeare those of the Valtoline; does at her owne charge maintayn a certain number of young men of that province at their studies at Padoa at her own charge; and in Swisserland maintayns a constant resident.

As to the Grisons and Suisses.

The republicque of Venice has great feare as well as jealousie of the howse of Austria; first, because the territories of that family surround this State all on the coast of Germany; secondly, because they are powerfull in Italy, as well as ambitious; and lastly, because they know that they have usurped a great deale from that family, particularly of the patriarchshipp of Aquilea. When this monarch was rampant, and attempted an universall empire, this State did all they could to thwart them, as questionlesse they now would any other that should set up in the same way. They often invited the Turk to invade them; supported the defection of Bethlem Gabor; sided with the Prince Palatin; encouraged all the troubles in Germany; ayded the Duke of Mantua with open and great force; and joyned with France to bring Gustavus Adolphus into Germany. They alsoe advised and counselled Queen Elizabeth to support the Hollanders. By all this it is easy to judge how they then stood affected; and judgeing by the same rule it is as easie to know how they now stand disposed. They only endeavor'd to impede the growing grandeur of the howse least it might have swallowed up their republicque. Nor would they now see that monarchy ruined, apprehending the same consequence upon their own; they are very jealous also of their dominions in the Adriatick Gulf, in which they have noe other competitors then the subjects of that howse.

As to the house of Austria and Spayne.

Besides all this, Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema are antient members of the

Dutchy of Milan. By this your Majesty may see the Venetians thus farr have been jealous of the Spanyards, but now much more apprehend the French, as I shall evince.

As to France, the Venetians have had frequent experience of the sad consequences which befall them as often as they have France for their neighbours; and of their advantage when most remote from them; soe that they would have France guardant, not rampant; they would have them live but not devoure. Had not the warre of Candia taken up all their thoughts, eyes, and eares, for some yeares, this State would have been makeing parties against them; and now that they are free from troubles, assure yourself this State will run into any league to divert the progressions of that monarchy, which is already too formidable. Nor are those wanting who averr this warre of Candia to have been the product of Richelieu's brayns, to the end this State might bee taken up in the cares of preserving itselfe, and not hinder the proceeding of their neighbors. Withall, the mayn end of Besiers comeing hither was to draw this State into a league with that King, and on those termes he engaged to recover what was then lost in Candia. But this State, unwilling to depend on any party, excused itself in faire termes, and the King in a huff recalled his ambassador, who for haveing spoken somewhat too roughly in the college was not very wellcome to them, nor doe the Venetians stick to say that the French lost Candia by their base deserting it.

As to England, there has ever been a good intelligence between this State and England, possible in regard England is remoate from them; has noe pretentions to annoy them; and by trade affoards them many advantages. But more especially the Venetians court that kingdom as arbitrator of the affayres between the two pretending crowns, and considering it is the concerne of that monarch as of their own state to keepe the ballance even. Though there have not been many leagues between that crown and this State, yet their common interests have united them, soe that there has ever been a good correspondence, and never any breach between them, the Venetians still acting the same things in the east which the English doe in the west. As to Denmark, Swedeland, &c., this State is little concerned with the first of the two crowns, nor much with the last; since the descent of Gustavus Adolphus into Germany, which this state did at that time encourage, for the reasons præalleadged, ayding him then with great sums of moneys. As to the Hollanders, when the Hollanders first revolted, the Venetians encouraged England and France to ayd them; and they themselves contributed large sums to their support; nor were the Dutch ingratefull for it, seing they sent to the Signorie upon that occasion of the excomunication of Paul the 5th to offer

them whatsoever moneys or men they desired, as England alsoe did; moreover in the warre of Gradisca the Hollanders did send 600 foot payd by themselves to serve the Venetians against the emperor; but when in processe of time this republique perceived that the French seconded by the Hollanders went on victoriously in every place, and that the Spanyard could not hold up the buckler against them, she began to withdraw her hand, it not being her designe to ruine, but only to humble, the Spanyard. The Dutch to this day pretend an arrear of six millions of florins due to them from this State, on accompt of that league, which the Venetians at length deserted. The Commonwealth at this time hath a good correspondence with the states of Holland; their interests of peace, trade, and obstructing the overgrowing greatnesse of any monarch, being the same.

As to Poland, this State maintaynes a good intelligence with Poland, as being a mayn buckler against the Turk; shee still endeavors to keepe all quiet in and about that kingdome, and is herself grieved when they suffer, either from without or within, as was manifest in the late warres, where the Cossacks, who used to infest the Black Sea, and forced the Grand Signor to divide his fleets, did then, by reason of their owne private dissentions, become a prey to the Turks, and unwillingly help to fill his gallies against the Venetians.

As to the Turk, certain it is this State would alwayes maintayn peace with this monarch; trade, not warre, encrease of wealth, not enlargement of empire, being the object of this government. They only seated themselves here for peace and commerce; their lawes, their affections, their vertues and their vices dispose them altogether to these things; but whatever state lyes neare the Turkish moon must suffer eclipses; they have already robbed this State of three crownes, viz. Morea (formerly Thessaly), Cypress, and Candia. I should feare Zant and Cephalonia would follow, but I think not yet, that monarchy having seen with what difficulty hee has wrested the last from this State; but I cannot think they will long remaine secure, the animosities between them and us, through difference of religion, lawes, habits, languages, and in a word of all things that serve as a common ciment or ligament, give mee reason to doubt, as I say, that the Turk will not long leave these places inattempted; but that hee will not yet attempt them, I suppose may bee reasonably concluded from the general peace of all Christendome. The knowledge that monarch has of the resistance this State can make in case of a rupture, the private divisions in his howse and family, and possibly other necessities that government may have at present, that doe not yet fall under my observation.

I mention not
Epirus, or in it
Scutari, Durazzo,
Priamo, Dulsigno,
Sta Maura, nor
many others.

This is certain, the republique applyes herself sedulously to maintayn this peace

and to endeare it by Commerce, which begins to flourish apace between this signorie and that large monarch. Besides, the State keepes an ambassador constantly there at a great expence, whose mayn business is to purchase the affections of the great men at court, and sometimes too of the Sultanes by force of money and the like.

I forbear to say anything of the scituation of this place, when and on what occasion it was founded. These things are to bee found in many who have particularly treated on them, such as Cardinal Contareno, Bernardo, Giustiniao, Munster, Bardi, Sansovini, and many others.

Thus much only I thought was fit to be presented to your Majesty's view by,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

Most loyal and obedient subiect,

FAUCONBERG.

XV. *Some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century, collected from her Account-book in the possession of Sir Thomas Edward Winnington, Baronet, of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester; with Historical Observations and Notes by JOHN WEBB, M.A., F.S.A.*

Read April 17, and May 1, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR HENRY,

Tretire, December 12, 1856.

SINCE I had the honour of reading these papers to the Society of Antiquaries, I have been tempted to conclude that they would hardly be deemed of sufficient importance to be received into their *Archæologia*, though, in the absence of more learned inquiries, I know of no good reason why the curious old diary of an elderly lady of an ancient house should be beneath the notice of an antiquary. Your official communication has however settled the question; and, as I find that the MS. has been selected for publication, I send it to you very little altered from the form in which it was read. Should it appear that the subject has been anywhere treated with less gravity than may become these pages, it may be pleaded that the feeling was in some measure forced upon me by the nature of the materials themselves, in moulding them into the form in which they now appear.

I remain, yours sincerely,

JOHN WEBB.

At the period to which this brief memoir refers, the family of Conyngesby^a had long been settled in the counties of Salop and Hereford. Their first introduction from Lincolnshire, where they were of great antiquity, was into the lordship of Neen Solars,^b in Shropshire, by the marriage of Margery, daughter and heir of

^a Conyngesby. Out of an ample choice of the modes of spelling this name, varieties of which will hereafter occur, that has been adopted as the standard which appears in the prose inscription on the tomb. For the orthography of Jefferies I have taken Nash, the historian of Worcestershire, as my guide.

^b In the hundred of Overs, near Tenbury.

Roger de Solars, Lord of Neen, with John, son of John, Baron de Conyngesby, who was slain at the battle of Chesterfield,^a in the reign of Henry III. They afterwards established themselves in the noble mansion and domain of Hampton Court in Herefordshire;^b but Conyngesby of Neen was in these parts the elder branch of that honourable race.^c Towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. was lord of the manor of Neen—a singular person, whose ardour for foreign travel and chivalrous enterprise led him far and long from his home, and finally threw an impenetrable veil over his death. Less known than good old Sandys, whose celebrated “Journey” in the reign of James I. was for awhile one of the most popular accounts of the then existing state of Italy, Greece, Palestine, and Egypt, and for truth and classical illustration may still be read with profit and pleasure, Conyngesby had preceded him, as a traveller, about sixteen years;^d but during his life no communication had been made to the public of what he had observed and experienced abroad, and, but for the affectionate care of one who loved his memory, his fate and story would never have been handed down to posterity. But these were detailed upon a tomb erected in the church of Neen Solars in a remarkable epitaph, the most material part of which is as follows. It will speak for itself, and at the close will introduce to your notice the person who is afterwards to form the principal feature of this communication. Without reciting the quaint verses,^e which, according to the custom then prevalent, were inserted in sundry compartments, the prose will be of

^a This battle, or rather surprise of the rebellious barons under Robert Ferrers, Earl of Derby, by Henry the King's nephew, son of the Earl of Almaine, took place in the year 1266.—Dugdale, Baronage, i. 263.

^b In the parish of Hope-under-Dinmore, now the property and residence of John Arkwright, Esq.

^c MS. pedigree of the Conyngesby family.

^d Indeed he ended, as far as we have any account of him, within a few months after Sandys began. Conyngesby, as stated below, set out on his first expedition in April 1594, and on his last, October 10, 1610, the year in which Sandys went to Paris, on his way to Venice, about the time that Henry IV. was assassinated, in the early part of May.—*Relation of a Journey, &c.* p. 1.

^e For a further description of the present state of this monument, and a corrected copy of the inscriptions, I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Richard Baker, Rector of Neen Solars, and Miss Baker, my own copy taken at the beginning of the last century being not altogether perfect. The monument is mural, and represents Humphrey Conyngesby in armour: it is in the south transept, and is surmounted by the family arms and crest; but the motto, TACTA LIBERTAS, existing in 1719, has disappeared. Under the arms are these verses, in four separate compartments:—

(1.) TYME CVTTETH DOWNE THE BODY,
BYT CHRIST RAISETH VP THE SPIRIT.

sufficient length to exercise your patience, and will inform you more particularly who Humphrey Conyngesby was, and what he did.

(2.) HERE CONINGESBIE IN LIVELY SHAPE THOV LIEST
WHO SOMETIMES WERT THE CHAMPION OF CHRIST
DIDST TRAVAILE EVROPE FOR HIS ONLIE SAKE
AND (FOVND THE FOE) HIS QVARRELL VNDER TAKE
WHAT GREATER VALOVR PIETIE COVL D BEE
THAN BLEED FOR HIM WHO SHED HIS BLOOD FOR THEE.

(3.) ALASS! OVR LIFE ALTHOVGH WEE STAIE AT HOME
IS BVT A TOYLESOME PILGRIMADGE ON EARTH
BVT THOV A DOVBLE PILGRIMADGE DIDST ROAME
THOV WAST ALLMOST ABROAD EVEN FROM THY BYRTH
THY JOVRNEYS END WAS HEAVEN OF HOMES THE BEST
WHER TILL THOV CAM'ST THOV NEVER COVL D'ST
TAKE REST.

(4.) OVR LIFE IS LOST YET LIV'ST THOV EVER
DEATH HATH HIS DVE YET DI'ST THOV
NEVER.

Beneath these verses is the prose inscription given in the text, and under it are the following lines:—

MAN STAY SEE MVSE MOORNE AND MINDE THY END
FLESH POMPE TYME THOVGHTS WORLD WELTH AS WIND
DOETH PASS
LOVE FEARE HATE HOPE FAST PRAY FEED GIVE AMEND
MAN BEAST FISH FOWLE AND ALL ELS IS AS GRASS
SEE HEARE THY SELFE FRALE FLESH AS IN A GLASS
NO ODS BETWEENE VS BVT VNSERTAIN HOWRES
WHICH ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE HEAVENLY POWERES
FOR DEATH IN FINE ALL KIND OF FLESH DEVOVRES
RESPICE FINEM
FAREWELL THEN SISTER FLESH AND THINKE OF ME
WHAT I AM TOMOROW THOV MAYST BE.

The arms were repeated in the transept window with this legend:—

These arms were set up in the memory of Humphrey Conyngesby, Esq. sometime Lord of Neen Sollers,
by his half-sister and sole executrix, Joice Jeffrys.

Anno Domini 1628.

But these have long since perished.

THIS STATVE AND MONVMENT WAS MADE IN COMEMORATION OF HVMFREY CONYNGESBY ESQ^a: ONLY SONE OF JOHN CONYNGESBY OF NENE SOLERS ESQ^a: AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE DAVGHTER OF THOMAS BARNEBY OF HVLL IN THE PARISH OF BOCKLETON^a AND COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ^a: WHICH HVMFREY CONYNGESBY WAS LATE LORDE OF THIS NEEN SOLERS AND PATRON OF THIS CHVRCH AND HEIRE OF THE ELDEST LYNE AND FAMILY OF CONYNGESBYS FROM WHOM THE REST ARE DERIVED WHICH BEFORE KING JHONS TYME WERE BARONS OF ENGLAND AND THEN RESIDED AT CONYNGESBY IN LINCOLNSHIRE HE WAS A PERFECT SCOLLER BY EDVCATION AND A GREATE TRAVAYLER BY HIS OWN AFFECTION HE BEGAN HIS FIRST TRAVAYLE ON APRIL 1594 BEING 27 YEARS OF AGE AND 2 MONETHES AND FOR FOVR YEARS AND VPWARDS REMAYNED IN FRANCE, GERMANIE SICILYE AND ITALY AND THEN RETVRNED HOME FOR A LITTLE WHILE AND TOOKE HIS JORNEY AGAIN INTO BOHEMIA POLONIA AND HVNGARY WHERE FOR DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH HE PVT HIMSELF VNDER THE BANNAR OF RODOLPH^b THE 2^m EMPEOR OF THE ROMANS (AS A VOLVNTARY GENTLEMAN) AT THE SIEGE OF STRIGONIVM^c IN HVNGARY AGAINST THE TVRK AFTERWARDS^d TO SATISFIE HIS DESIRE WHICH WAS TO SEE THE

^a Bockelton is in the upper division of the hundred of Doddintree. Hull, in that parish, so called from its situation on a hill, belonged to the family of Barnaby in the 16th and 17th centuries.—Nash, i. pp. 115, 116.

^b Rodolph II. eldest son of Maximilian II. and Mary of Spain, was born July 28, 1552; crowned King of Hungary, September 25, 1572; King of Bohemia, September 21, 1575; elected King of the Romans, October 27, and crowned November 1 of the same year. In the year following he succeeded his father as Emperor, and died January 10, 1612, aged 39.—Pfeffel, *Nouvel Abregée de l'Histoire d'Allemagne*, tom. ii. pp. 218, 219.

^c Strigonium, now Gran, a town of Lower Hungary, near the confluence of the Gran with the Danube. At the close of the 16th and opening of the 17th centuries it was considered the bulwark of Christendom. It was thrice besieged between the years 1595 and 1605, and at last won by the Turks, from whom it had been taken in the first siege by the Imperialists, after an occupation of fifty-two years. These operations were attended by many fierce and sanguinary struggles, and were very attractive to soldiers of fortune throughout Europe, as partaking of the character of a croisade. To have been present at these feats of arms seems to have been a feather in the cap of the gallants of the age. Ben Jonson introduces it as one of the vaunts of his vain-glorious braggart, Bobadill:—

“*Wellbred*.—Captain Bobadill, why muse you so?

“*Bobadill*.—Faith, I was thinking of an honourable piece of service was performed to-morrow, being St. Mark's day, shall be some ten years now.

“*Elder Knowell*.—In what place, Captain?

“*Bobadill*.—Why, at the beleaguering of Strigonium, where, in less than two hours, seven hundred resolute gentlemen as any in Europe lost their lives upon the breach. I'll tell you, gentlemen, it was the first, but the best, leaguer that ever I beheld with these eyes, except the taking in of—what do you call it?—last year by the Genoways,” &c.—*Every Man in His Humour*, act iii. sc. 1.

^d The writer of this inscription (it could hardly have been composed by Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, though she might have supplied the materials) has apparently committed an anachronism in placing any siege of

MOST EMINENT PERSONS AND PLACES HE WENT INTO TVRKEY, NATOLIA, TROY IN ASIA BY SESTOS AND ABYDOS THROUGH THE HELLESPONT AND INTO THE ISLES OF ZANT, CHIOS, RHODES, CANDY, CYPRVS, AND DIVERS OTHER PLACES IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. HE VISITED SVNDRY ANTIENT AND FAMOVS PLACES OF GREECE, AS ARCADIA, CORINTH, THESSALONICA, EPHEBUS AND ATHENS, WENT OVER THE PLAINS OF THERMOPYLÆ BY WHICH XERXES PASSED INTO GREECE AND SO ARRIVED AT CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE REIGNE OF MAHOMET THE 3RD EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS WHO TO DO HIM HONOV^R GAVE HIM A TVRKISH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF GOLD AND HIS MOTHER THE SVLTANA EBRITA GAVE HIM ANOTHER RICH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF SILVER AND 50 CHEQVINS IN GOLD. AFTER 13 MONETHES ABODE THERE HE RETVRNED INTO ENGLAND, TO THE JOY OF HIS FRIENDS WHERE STAYING AWHILE HE WENT INTO SPAIN AND CAME BACK IN SAFETY, AND AGAINE THE FOVRTH TYME HE TOOKE HIS JORNEY FROM LONDON TO VENICE THE TENTH DAY OF OCTOBER 1610, AND FROM THAT DAY WAS NEVER AFTER SEEN BY ANY OF HIS ACQVAINANCE ON THIS SIDE THE SEA OR BEYOND, NOR ANY CERTAINTY KNOWN OF HIS DEATH, WHERE WHEN OR HOW. FROM HIS FIRST JOVRNEY TO HIS FOVRTH AND LAST WAS SIXTEEN YEARS AND SIX MONETHES. HE LIVED A BATCHELOVR, LEAVING BEHIND HIM ONE SISTER OF THE WHOLE BLOOD NAMED CATHERINE THE WIFE OF EDWARD FREEMAN OF EINLOD^e IN THE COVNTY OF WORCESTER ESQ^{RE}. AND ONE OTHER SISTER BY THE MOTHERS SIDE NAMED JOYCE JEFEREYS WHOM HE MADE EXECVTRIX OF HIS WILL AND TESTAMENT APPOINTING HER THEREBY TO ERECT HIM A TOMB WITH AN INSCRIPTION OF HIS CONDITION, LIFE AND DEATH WHICH SHE HATH HERE PERFORMED THOVGH SHORT OF HIS PERFECTIONS.

TEMPORA MVTANTVR. ANNO DOMINI 1624.

This lady, Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, who has taken such pains to convey the above information to posterity, is the person to whom, in her turn, I wish to invite your attention; and from her autograph account-book, in the possession of Sir Thomas

Strigonium at this period. The first and only siege during the lifetime of Mahomet III. was in 1594. This must have been when Conyngesby was on his first journey in France, Germany, Sicily, and Italy. Having set out in that year, he continued out four years and upwards, returned to England, and set out on his second tour, in which, as is stated, he became a volunteer at the siege. "Afterwards" he travels through Greece, and arrives at Constantinople while Mahomet III. was on the throne. Now, neither of the two other sieges alluded to in the former note occurred till the reign of Achmet, who succeeded Mahomet III. See Knolles, History of the Turks, in Mahomet III. and Achmet.

^e Emlod, Emlade, or Evenload, in the upper division of the hundred of Oswaldeslaw, a manor belonging some time to the priory of Worcester, but given with other lands at the Dissolution to Sir Philip Hoby, Knight, from whom it came to Lord Compton, from him to Mr. Croker, and after this to Mr. Freeman, and his son Mr. Coningsby Freeman, who sold it.—Nash, i. p. 393.

Edward Winnington, Bart., of Stanford Court, in the county of Worcester, who has kindly permitted it to be shown to the Society, shall be extracted such passages as will bring her before you. The book is kept in a clear hand, and comprises the receipt and expenditure of nine years, embodying a number of curious particulars bearing upon the events, persons, circumstances, and manners of the age, and setting forth simultaneously, what is hardly less notable, her own very extraordinary self—the general representative of a class that is now exhibited nowhere exteriorly to the eye of an observer, save in the family pictures of the country ladies of the time—individually, a character not unworthy to be drawn from its long obscurity, existing at a period that must ever be interesting to us, and distinguished by peculiarities too remarkable to be forgotten.

An extract from a MS. history of the parish of Clifton upon Teme, in Worcestershire, where she spent her last days, has supplied this notice of her. It was written by her great-nephew, Mr. Henry Jefferies, and is preserved in the library at Stanford Court.

Joyce Jefferies was daughter to Henry Jefferies of Hom-Castle,^a by Anne, widow of Ja^s Conyngsby. She had 200 marks by her father's will given her. She lived with her mother, the lady Kettleby, at Cotheridge,^b and after Sir Francis's death and her mother's, who survived him, with Sir Tho^s Conyngsby of Hampton Court, co. Hereford, a perpetual companion to Philippa his wife. From the gratuities of her friends, not forgetting Mr. Humphrey Conyngsby of Neende Solers, a great traveller, her half-brother, her great benefactor, she soe augmented her effects that by her account book she received at once^c 900*l.* per annum. Being over free to her god-children, whereof Joyce (Elizabeth) Acton was one, who married Mr. Geers of Garnons, and to whom she gave 800*l.* though not so largely to others; by building a house in Wigmarsh Street in the suburbs of Hereford, the expense whereof was 800*l.*, as by her book—which was ordered to be pulled down in the time of the late rebellion under King Charles, and the materials sold for 50*l.*; by other calamities of war, but worse by knavish servants, (she) had so far consumed it, that had she not come to Holme Castle under the guidance and protection of William her nephew, she had come to want in her old age. However, something pretty considerable from this shipwreck was found,

^a "Hame, or Homme," says Nash, "is a manor in the parish of Clifton-upon-Teme. Here was anciently a castle, the seat of the family of the Jefferies of Clifton, who purchased it of Edmund Withypole in 25 Eliz. Henry Jefferies, Esq. resided here in 1569; as did William, his grandson, in 1634; whose son, Henry Jefferies of Hom Castle, Esq. a man of considerable learning, and much respected in this county in his time, was the last male heir of the family. He died July 30, 1709, and left all his estates to his niece, Jane Bloome, on condition she married Edward Winnington, Esq. and assumed the name and arms of Jefferies; since which time it hath passed along with Clifton, and now belongs to Sir Edward Winnington of Stanford Hall, Bart. 1779."—*Hist. and Antiq. of Worcestershire*, i. pp. 239–244.

^b The seat of a branch of the Berkeley family, about four miles west of Worcester.

^c *i.e.* was at one time in the receipt of.

which he very well deserved for himself and his children, those born up to the time of her decease, which must be in the vacancy of the register of Clifton, from ann. 1647 to 1653. She was buried in the chancel of Clifton in her brother's grave, next to the old monument in the north wall. The codicil of her will (is) dated 3d April, 1650. The probate 9th Nov. 1650.

In this ill-expressed, rambling statement there is a little air of pique. I cannot collect that her income amounted on an average to 500*l.* per annum, though, during three or four years, it considerably exceeded that sum. While the war continued, and after it was ended, her receipts decreased; but, on the whole, it may be admitted that she had lived far beyond her means. This was not brought about altogether by over-indulgence in costly luxuries: the luxury to which she was addicted was that of showing kindnesses to all around her. In this, at least, her failing, though it might expose her to imposition, "leaned to virtue's side," and her own record is nothing but a tissue of benevolence from beginning to end. Three-fourths of the entries appear to consist of sums bestowed in presents, excused in loans, or laid out in articles to give away. But the part of this record, perhaps, most attractive to the local antiquary and historian is the minute exhibition of her contemporaries in the county of Hereford, and the multitude of particulars attached to the private life and manners of that class in society to which she belonged, as well as the glimpses that it occasionally affords of her own feelings and sufferings in those days in which England was convulsed by civil agitation.

In the opening of her book she shows herself resident in Hereford. It is entitled, "A New Booke of Receights of Rents, Añuities, and Interest Moneyes begininge at St. Mary Day, 1638: written at Heryford at John Fletcher's howse." This house stood in Widemarsh Street, which leads northward to the Leominster Road, and was somewhere in the suburb near the City Gate: the new house mentioned by her relative, as yet uninhabited by her, and other houses, her property, were also in the same suburb, without that gate. She continued in the city till the year 1642, when, driven by stress of war, she abandoned it, and sought refuge in the dwellings of others. Ultimately, in 1644, she gave up housekeeping to the day of her death.

Her income was drawn from a great variety of sources, from the proceeds of certain estates called "Bradward, Warton"^a and "Free Town,"^b the former of which she kept in her own hands under the management of her steward; from two an-

^a Broadward. A farm and township so called about a mile to the south of Leominster, on the Arrow. Mrs. Jefferies held it under Brazenose College, Oxford. Wharton is adjacent to it on the south.

^b An estate in the parish of Tarrington, in the county of Hereford, between Ledbury and Hereford. This estate was, however, sold in 1638.

nuities, the one left to her by Sir Thomas Conyngesby, the founder of that hospital in Hereford that bears his name, the other by her half-brother, Humphrey Conyngesby, secured upon land at Neen Solars;^a and these were paid to her, while he had it in his power, by Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, son of Sir Thomas, a noted royalist and sufferer in the cause of Charles I. Besides, she had various sums^b placed out at interest on bond and mortgage, varying from three to three hundred pounds and upwards, one loan to John Hackluit of Warton amounting to eight hundred pounds. These securities were frequently shifting; and the number of persons who paid to her, irregularly enough, in this way, taking the two first years of 1638 and 1639 as an example, was little short of a hundred. The borrowers of these monies were knights, gentry, yeomen, farmers, and tradesmen: among them are, Sir Robert Whitney of Whitney Court, Messrs. Aubrey of Clehonger, Hereford of Sufton, Brabazon of Eaton, Baskerville of Staunton, Barnaby of Brockhampton, Salway of Stanford; all round the country, some in London, some in Worcester; burgesses and aldermen and mayors of Hereford, with many others. The collection of interest upon principal so detached and widely dispersed must have been often attended with difficulty; the principal itself must have incurred risk of diminution: but the convenience of the Three per Cents was then unknown, and eight per cent. was the interest upon these loans.

Her gratitude and veneration towards the Conyngesby family, the chief founders of her fortune, frequently breaks forth and overflows from her pen, when she is statedly recording the benefits derived from them, and it is usually dwelt upon in this precise manner:—

Rec^d of worthy [sometimes it is “right worshipful,” sometimes “noble”] Sir Fitz-William Conyngesby [sometimes “Mr. Fitz-William Conyngesby, Esq.”] my $\frac{1}{2}$ y^{rs} ann^y given me by my loving brother Humphrey Coningesby, Esq. deceased, out of the lordship of Nene Sollers and Cuttston, and my half y^{rs} ann^y given me by worthy Sr Thomas Conyngesby, Knt.

Her thankful cast of mind occasionally appears in an expression of pious acknowledgment to the Giver of all Good, as, for instance, the summing up of a twelve-month is thus recorded:—

Somme totall. Receued the whole yeare, About as well from Bradward as all places ells, for all maner of comodities what so ever, the yeare Ending on St. Mary Eve, 1642, 529*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*

^a The annuity left by Sir Thomas Conyngesby amounted to 10*l.* per annum, the other to 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

^b Her nephew William has drawn out at the end of her diary, “A note taken the 27 8ber, 1650, of such debts as were due by bill or bond to my aunt Jefferyes.” These in the first statement amount to 743*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*, and in a second, dated June 23, 1651, to 664*l.* 16*s.*, making a total of 1408*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.*

At another season, when trials and troubles awaited her, her thoughts assume a tone of resignation, and she marks the opening of the year "at John Fletcher's house, in Widmarsh Streete, in heriford, where I now dwell to God's pleasure."

Permit me to offer a slight sketch of the personal appearance of this lady in a specimen or two of her dress, among many that occur in her book. Her style of apparel will, perhaps, be deemed costly for her rank; at any rate we may be sure it was such as became a gentlewoman of her condition. In 1638, in her palmy days, she wore a tawny camlet coat and kirtle, which, with all the requisite appendages, trimmings, and making, scrupulously set down, cost 10*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* She had, at the same time, a black silk calimanco loose gown, petticoat, and boddice, and these, with the making, came to 18*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*: this was in July. In the following month, a Polonia coat and kirtle cost in all 5*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* The two former were made by a Mr. Stockwall, a tailor in London; the latter in Hereford. Tailors were the male dress-makers of the time. She employed them in Hereford, Worcester, and London.

Sir Philip Warwick, in a passage of his *Memoirs*^a that has frequently been quoted, describing the appearance of Cromwell in the House of Commons, remarks that his clothes "were made by an ill country tailor." But the country tailor was not the only artist who was unskilful in the trade. His metropolitan brother, as in this case, did not always execute orders so as to satisfy his employer. These tawny coat and silk calimanco dresses were made so badly in London that they must be altered by a country tailor. She had about the same period a head-dress of black tiffany; wore ruff-stocks, and a beaver hat, with a black silk band, and adopted worsted hose of different colours, sometimes blue, sometimes grass-green. Among the articles of her toilet may be observed false curls, and curling-irons: she had Cordovan gloves, sweet gloves, and gold embroidered gloves. She wore diamond and cornelian rings, used spectacles, and carried a whistle for a little dog, suspended at her girdle by a yard of loop black lace. A cipress (Cyprus?) cat, given to her by a Herefordshire friend, the Lady Dansey of Brinsop, was no doubt a favourite; and she kept a throstle in a twiggen cage. These are but slightly sketched outlines of her portrait. Her book is a repertory of the costume then in vogue. Not to dwell on this part of the subject by too detailed an enumeration, but just to carry the point a little further, the young lady above mentioned, who resided with her, was dressed at her expense in a manner more suitable to her earlier time of life: for instance, she had, in August 1638, a green silk gown, with a blue taffeta petticoat. At Easter following she went to a christening

^a *Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick*, 3d edition, p. 247.

arrayed in a double cobweb lawn, and had a muff. In April, 1639, she was dressed in a woollen gown, "spun by the cock's wife, Whooper," liver-coloured, and made up splendidly with a stomacher laced with twisted silver cord. Another article of this young lady's wardrobe was a gown of musk-coloured cloth; and when she rode out she was decked in a bastard scarlet safeguard coat and hood, laced with red, blue, and yellow lace: but none of her dresses were made by female hands.^a

Returning to her best times, it is observable that the household establishment of this worthy lady is by no means, for a single person, on a contracted scale. Many female servants are mentioned: two in particular, Eliza Hackluit and Ann Davies, at wages from three pounds to three pounds four shillings per annum, with the addition of gowns of dark stuff at Midsummer. As to any others in her service, she seems occasionally to have provided them all with clothes. Thomas Bedford, her coachman, receiving forty shillings per annum, had at Whitsuntide, 1639, a new cloth suit and cloak, and when he was dressed in his best, exhibited fine blue silk ribbon at the knees of his hose. The liveries of this and another man-servant, Thomas Harris, were, in 1641, of fine Spanish cloth, made up in her own house, and cost upwards of nine pounds. Her man of business, or steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, had a salary of 5*l.* 16*s.* A horse was kept for him, and he rode about to collect her rents and dues, and to overlook her agricultural concerns; he also bought and sold for her. She appeared abroad in a coach drawn by two mares, which on one occasion she lent Mrs. Bodenham to take her to Bristol; and a nag or two were in her stable; one that a widow lady in Hereford purchased of her, she particularly designates as a "rare ambler." I see hints, but no precise designations of her journeys on horseback, though it is probable she was forced upon this mode of travelling in her removals and visits to her friends after the loss of her coach and mares. Her family feelings are strong, and her expressions of natural affection flow warm from the heart. The death of Mrs. Catherine Freeman, widow, of Neen Solars, her half sister, in 1640, is touched upon with much tenderness, and she appends to it the parting expression, "a saint in heaven." She had a host of country cousins; for in those days, family connections were formed in more contracted circles than at present, and the younger people inter-

^a The spelling of this book is one of its curious features: it is a transcript of speech as well as an exposition of thought; for it corresponds closely with the mode of expression and pronunciation prevailing among the common people of Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Salop at the present day. Thus in January, 1642, we have a striking example relative to the dress of Miss Acton. A *yard* an a half of scarlet baize was bought to make her a *wastcoate* to dress her in, and four yards of red galoon to bind *him*, i.e. the *wastcoate*. Instances of the dialect of our peasantry occurring in its pages are without number.

married nearer home; and she was evidently a great object of interest and competition among such as sought for sponsors to their children. She seems to have delighted in the office of gossip, and the number of her godchildren became a serious tax upon her purse, for in this way she appears to have noticed them all. A considerable list of her christening gifts might be made out. For instance, in 1638:—

May 1. Tankard at 5*s.* 6*d.* an oze. for a sillver tankard to give my goddaughter litle Joyce Walsh,
w^t 19 oz. & 4 penny w^{ts} 5*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*
July 1. At Heriford faier for blue silk riband & taffetay & sillver lace for skarfs for my godson
Harbert Westfaling, & Joyce Gravell my goddaugh^r 8*s.*
1642, Nov. 18. Paid Mr. Lide, gouldsmith in Heriford, for a sillver bowle to give Mrs Lawrence
daughter, w^{ch} I found too called Joyce Lawrence, at 5*s.* 8*d.* an oze. 48*s.* 10*d.*

But of all those to whom she was attached by this sacred bond, no one obtained a larger portion of her love and favour than Miss Eliza Acton, whose apparel has been already described. It is not easy to assign to what branch of that family she belonged. An Acton of Ivington, near Leominster, and another of Hereford, appear in her book. But it is a name of frequent occurrence and early date in the genealogies of Worcester, Hereford, and Salop, and as to the latter county, is still held in no ordinary respect and affection in and around Acton Scott, one of the places from which it was doubtless originally derived. This young lady, adopted by her, was, for the most part, with her up to the time of her marriage, as friend and companion; was very useful to her, and certainly partook very largely of her bounty. It was this that excited the displeasure of Mr. Henry Jefferies, already quoted, where he remarks, with a feeling bordering upon jealousy, that she favoured her “more than any others.” I have not detected any relationship between the Actons and Jefferies; and probably there was none: hence he might have looked upon her as an intruder. She had godchildren among her own kindred; and among them a Henry Jefferies,^a the complainant himself. Certainly, to Eliza Acton she was almost more than maternally generous, and was continually giving proofs of her fondness in all sorts of indulgences, supplying her lavishly with costly clothes, and sums of money, more or less, as she had need,—money for gloves, for fairings, for cards against Christmas,—money repeatedly to put in her purse. More than all this, she bestowed upon her a portion of eight hundred pounds; and exulted in having concluded a match for her with a scion

^a Among the proofs of her affection for him are as follow:—

1640, August 12. Gave my godson and graund Nephew Henry Jeffreys 5*s.*
1644, January 1. Henry Jefferies. Gave my beloved Godson and Nephew, Henry Jeffreys, 2*s.* 6*d.*
1647. Gave my godsonne, Hary Jeffreys, at Whitson tide 1*s.*

of the house of Geers of Garnons,^a one of the most respectable of its class in the county of Hereford.

The limits of this paper do not permit me to enter very largely into her system of housekeeping. In summer she frequently had her own sheep killed; and at autumn a fat heifer, and at Christmas a beef or brawn, were sometimes slaughtered and chiefly spent in her house. She is very observant of the festivals and ordinances of the Church, while they continue unchanged; duly pays her tithes and offerings, and, after the old seignorial and even princely custom, contributes for her dependants as well as for herself in the offertory at the communion at Easter; has her pew in the church of All Saints in Hereford dressed, of course, with flowers at that season by the wife of the clerk; gives to the poor's-box at the minster, and occasionally sends doles to the prisoners in the gaol at Byster's Gate. Attached to ancient rules in town or country, she patronises the fiddlers at sheep-shearing, gives to the wassail and the hinds on Twelfth Eve, when they light their twelve fires, and make the fields resound with toasting their master's health, as is done in many places to this day; and frequently in February is careful to take pecuniary notice of the first of the other sex among those she knew whom she met on Valentine's day, and enters it with all the grave simplicity imaginable:—

| | |
|--|-----|
| Gave Tom Aston for being my Valentine | 2s. |
| Gave Mr. Dick Gravell cam to be my Valentine. | 1s. |
| I gave Timothy Pickering of Clifton that was my Valentine at Homcastle | 4d. |

Sends Mr. Mayor a present of 10s. on his "law-day;" and on a certain occasion dines with him, when the waits, to whom she gives money, are in attendance at the feast, and contributes to these at New Year's and Christmas tide, and to other musical performers at entertainments or fairs; seems fond of music, and strange sights, and "rarer monsters." "Gave to Sir John Giles, the fiddler, and to 2 others, on 12th day;" and at another time "to Ruell and his fellow-fiddler, and John a Tomas," the degenerate wandering minstrels of former times. "To a boy that did sing like a black bird." To Cherilickcome "and his Jack an apes," some vagrant that gained his living by exhibiting a monkey; and at Hereford Midsummer fair, in 1640, "to a man that had the dawncing horse." To every one who gratified her by a visit, or brought her a present, she was liberal. When she paid her own servants, she would sometimes make them advances; when she was in the houses of her friends, as a boarder, the attendants, often to the lowest in

^a Garnons is situated at about seven miles westward from Hereford, and is the seat of Sir Henry Geers Cotterell.

the list, failed not at certain times to receive some kind remembrance of their attentions towards her. She provided medicine and advice for those who were sick, and could not afford to call in medical aid; and she took compassion upon those who were in the chamber of death and house of mourning.

1648, Oct. 29. For a pound of shugger to send Mrs. Eaton when her son Fitz-W^m lay on his death bed 20d.

In many instances the feeling is worth far more than the gift bestowed. She makes a little boy happy by three-pence to put into his purse; and, to a poor fellow that was stationed to keep watch and ward at one of the city gates near her house,

Gave John Pritchett at severall tymes to please him for watching at the gate called Widmarsh gate 9d.

It may be believed, on a review of a multitude of acts of this kind, that hardly any one with whom she was in anywise concerned was overlooked in the distribution of her bounty. We may be sure that it was sometimes misplaced, sometimes abused: indeed, she herself bears testimony to it. But in all her remarks on men and circumstances, though she has frequently complained of the harsh treatment experienced from her enemies, and described the conduct of the "fearful soldiers" and their officers as barbarous and inhuman, and characterises the oppressive acts of the Parliamentary committee-men as wrongful, I detect not a single direct expression of ill-will in any of her comments. Mr. Garnons, an occasional suitor for relief, she styles "an unthrifty gentleman;" amuses herself in setting down a small bad debt; and after recording the name of the borrower, and the trifling sum lent, adds, in a note by way of anticipation, "which he will never pay." In another case, that of a legal transaction, in which a person had agreed to surrender certain premises to her use, and she had herself paid for drawing the instrument upon which he was to have acted, she observes, "but he never did, and I lost my money." In all matters she exhibits a gentle and a generous mind.

On a future occasion we shall endeavour to trace what befel her subsequent to the commencement of her diary; for the public tranquillity that this favoured country had long enjoyed was gradually yielding to discord, and that civil strife was approaching which distracted the homes of our forefathers, and in which our benevolent lady had her share.



THE CITY OF HEREFORD.

1. Widemarsh Gate, by which Sir William Waller entered the City.
2. Widemarsh Street without the Gate, leading towards Leominster. In this street the New house and other houses of Mrs. Jefferies stood.
3. Bye Street and Gate, leading towards Bromyard. At this gate the Earl of Stamford entered with his detachment from Worcester.
4. Eign Street and Gate, the road towards Garnons and Kilkinton, leading to Hay.
5. Friars Gate. 6. The Cathedral. 7. The Bishop's Palace.
8. St. Owen's Street and Gate, leading towards Ledbury.
9. The Bridge, Street, and Gate leading towards Ross; the road that the levies would take to join Lord Herbert's army.
10. Site of the Castle. 11. The river Wye.

Continuation of some passages in the Life and Character of a Lady resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War of the Seventeenth Century.

Read May 1st, 1856.

IN the former part of this memoir our story was "left half told." In fact, we were chiefly engaged with points of character and domestic matters incidental thereupon. These will now come to be blended with the history of the times; and, as we are entering upon another part of the subject, it may not be unfitting nor unacceptable to take a brief retrospect of the principal personages represented in this curious diary. First and foremost in the group is Mrs. Joyce Jefferies

herself, a maiden lady, related to the Conyngesbys of Herefordshire and Salop, and the Jefferies of Homcastle, in the county of Worcester—a person of unbounded liberality, whose life seems to have been devoted to acts of kindness, and who appears to have considered an ample fortune merely as an instrument to minister to the satisfaction, benefit, or necessities of those around her. Then there are her cousins—Fitz-William Conyngesby and others who bore her name, and a family named Geers of Garnons, near Hereford, relatives and country cousins, in various quarters. Immediately about her person is Miss Elizabeth Acton, a darling god-daughter. There is her steward, Mr. Matthias Rufford, and her menial servants. We have seen that one of the successors to her property, Mr. Henry Jefferies, to whom we owe some account of her, thought her too liberal and partial, and that, if she had lived much longer, and continued in the same course of extravagant beneficence, and been subject to the fraudulent treatment of which he complains, she might have come to want or dependence upon her friends before her decease. Happily such evil was averted. She left, he admits, a considerable property; and, as it fell out, and she became a burden to no one, we may conceive her vindication to have been fairly expressed in that scriptural passage—“Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?”

But, be this as may; having recapitulated the principal personages, we may now proceed to the scenes and times in which these actors lived. Hereford is the place in which she is first found in 1638. Her hired house, already mentioned, belonging to John Fletcher, was in Widemarsh Street, without the gate of that name. She had houses of her own in the same street without the walls, all let out to tenants, except one, built recently at considerable expense, but as yet unoccupied by her. A reference to the annexed skeleton plan of the city will better explain this, and other situations to be alluded to hereafter. The beginning of the diary coincides very nearly with that of our domestic troubles upwards of two centuries ago.

Of all periods of this nation's history hardly any one is more captivating to Englishmen than that of the dispute between Charles I. and the Parliament. The book passes through nine years to the end of 1647, and these witnessed the greater part of the strife. Without entering into the politics of the age, with reference to the origin of the contest, it may be remarked that no county throughout England was more forward or persevering in the royal cause than that of Hereford. Symptoms of the approaching convulsion soon begin to appear in our account-book.

In 1638 Mrs. Jefferies pays the unpopular impost of ship-money, unsuccessfully

opposed by Hampden at the end of the year 1636, as well as another tax called the King's provision; and she finds a soldier for her farm at Broadward, and for her property in Hereford, when the trained bands are called out and exercised.

May 1. Paid Mr. Mailard, mercer, and John Trahern, shoe-maker, for the shipping money for this
 yeare 3*l*.
 Paid ship-money for 15 acres of grainge land by Leominster 2*s*. 6*d*.
 Nov. 26. Paid towards the king's povysion for the same land 2*d*.
 1639, March 26. Paid John Trahern, my sowldier, 3 days' training 5*s*.

In the Midsummer of 1639 a training of three days occurs, and ship-money is collected again. In August the public disquietude in Hereford seems to increase; at least, precautions are taken to prevent mischief.

For watching one night at Widemarsh gate 2*s*.

Soldiers, or loose characters under the guise of soldiers, are wandering about to the annoyance of peaceable people, who suspect them, and give them money through fear.

1639, Sept^r 5. Gave a strainge sowldier, wth a blue fether in his hatt, that said he came from
 barrwick 2*s*.
 Oct^r 24. Gave a counterfett sowldier or a theef rather 4*d*.

Now, too, old ancestral armour, or trainband equipments that hung rusting in manor-houses, were taken down and repaired.

To Mr. Brian Newton for putting buckles on the tassels of the armor of Bradard ^a—

In 1640 the King raised an army of 20,000 men against the Scots, and some of her friends and relatives take up arms and go to the North.

April 2. Gave Mr. Miles Hackluit when he went to the warres Against Scotland 2*s*. 6*d*.
 Gave my cosin Will^m Coningsby when he went to Scotland to the warres 1*s*.
 July 10. This day the trained sowldiers went towards Scotland. Gave John Lincoln that went
 wth Captain Button 6*d*.
 Gave 3 sowldiers of y^e same company to drink 4*d*.

August. Again the ship-money, 3*l*., is paid to James Barrell, the mayor, and her soldier continues to be trained for seven days, and is under the command of Captain Richard Wigmore. This family furnished several officers for the King's service, and suffered severely during the war. A watch continues to be set at Widemarsh Gate.

^a Sum not inserted.

In the spring of 1641 several subsidies were levied, and

Sept. 14. I paid Mr. Philip Simons, Junior, & Mr. Tho^s Church, collectors for the powle-money that was graunted the king's matie in this p^esent Parliament, 1641 5*l*.

The times became still more restless. Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, had been agitating; Archbishop Laud had been impeached and imprisoned; and the Earl of Strafford was brought to trial, and on May 12 beheaded. She now took a decided interest in passing events, and sent for some of the pamphlets and news-books that swarmed from the press.

Oct. 28. Paid Mr. Cowp for a new booke of Mr. Prinn: Dr Bastwick, & Mr. Burton's troubles 2*s*. 2*d*.
29. Paid for a booke of y^e Earle of Straford's arrainment and his pickture, & y^e Arch Bushop laud's and som other picktures of their sect cost 4*s*. 1*d*.
and for y^e booke cauled Herodatus 3*s*.

It may be suspected that her library contained an odd assortment; but we shall see more of it. The plot thickened in 1642. Soon after the year set in, the quarrel took place between the King and Parliament respecting the militia. Mrs. Jefferies had soldiers discharging their muskets, probably in a disorderly way, at or near her dwelling. As this was on Ascension-day, and it was the day on which Mr. Weaver, one of the members for Hereford, universally regretted, was buried, it is not easy to account for this demonstration. Whether it was any part of the ceremony that took place, or whether she noticed their proceedings by way of encouragement, or through timidity, does not appear.

May 18. Gave the souldiers that shott off at my window, 1*s*., and beer.

In the month of July the militia were embodied in Herefordshire. In August she receives another supply of literature—news-books, pictures, and pamphlets—fresh to the times.

4 books of pictures and pamphlets. Bought by Mr. John Edmunds, Scrivener, the booke of the works of Justine, cost 8*s*. 6*d*. for 26 pamphlets of parliament nuse, & y^e picktures of the yong prince of orange, William of Nassaw, and his wyfe, the Lady mary daughter to king Charles, at 2*d*. a piece.

This is the Princess Mary, the King's eldest daughter, who had been married to William of Nassau, son of Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, at Whitehall, May 2, 1641.

To the carier for bringinge down bookes & picktures 6*d*.

Carriers still went from Hereford and Leominster without interruption. By

the latter conveyance Lady Harley, though at some risk, sent up in July the plate from Brampton Brian Castle to her husband Sir Robert Harley, to be his offering in the Parliament's cause.^a

The political horizon grew rapidly very gloomy at the beginning of September, 1642. On the 9th of that month the Earl of Essex, the General for the Parliament, left London for Northampton at the head of about 15,000 men. In Hereford they began to think about putting themselves into a posture of defence.

Sept. 4. Paid to Mr. Mailard, mercer in heriford, by a lewne^a laid upon y^e Citty of heryford, towards y^e biinge of Armor & weapons & artilery to streinthen the citty against the parliament 20s.
20. I paid John Trahern my sowldier for y^e Citty of heriford, 7 daies training wth his captain, M. Rich. Wiggmore 10s.

These preparations were none too soon. The Parliamentarians were making rapid advances. Essex had entered Worcester on Saturday the 25th of September, and the townsmen of Hereford became seriously alarmed for the safety of their own city. Two days before this, evidently amidst great distress and confusion, Mrs. Jefferies packed up beds and furniture and boxes, and took her flight, in her carriage, to Kilkinton, a house inhabited by her cousin Penreece, and not far from Garnons, on the west of Hereford. Here she stayed a few days, when, probably thinking that she should be more secure at Garnons, the house of her friend Mr. Francis Geers, she removed thither on the 27th of that month.

I cam to kilkinton to my cosin penreeses howse from heriford for feare of y^e parliaments army, Septem. 23, 1642. The 27. I came from thence to Mr. Geeres at Garnons.

This is still further exemplified in the following extracts, selected from many confused entries that betray the agitation of the writer.

Paid Edward Parsons of heryford for helpping to carry my goods out of my howse in heriford to the cart that brought hit to Kilkinton, for feare of y^e coming of y^e parliaments army from Worcester to heriford 1s.
Gave an other man for helpping in the same work 3d.
Paid Edward Stefens, Carier, for cariing a way my trunks & boxes and bedding from heriford to kilkinton 25s.
Gave a carpinder to pass over my standard powles in y^e cole howse, when the souldiers would had them to barricado Widmarsh gate 4d.

When she reached Garnons she might think herself more secure; but it proved

^a Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley, Camd. Soc. 1854, p. 177.

^b Assessment or contribution.

quite otherwise. From Worcester, where he had taken up his quarters, the Earl of Essex despatched Henry Earl of Stamford, Lord Grey of Groby, to occupy Hereford, that had neither garrison nor governor. The place was in a state of feverish excitement for several days, while the cry was "still, they come." Their forlorn hope entered without resistance on Friday the 30th of September. Stamford followed them on the Sunday, with a regiment of foot and some troops of horse, and established himself at once in the Bishop's palace^a. He presently showed what was the chief object of his coming; to confiscate the property of the Royalists. He had under his command several officers, expert pilferers, fresh from the German wars. Captain Kyrle, the son of Kyrle of Walford, Lieutenant-Colonel Massey, afterwards the gallant governor of Gloucester, and Captain Hammond, who signalised himself by his transactions when his Majesty was conveyed a prisoner to the Isle of Wight,—these and others had been guilty of much excess in pillaging the houses of the Royalists in Worcestershire and elsewhere, and they came to do the same execution here. They were experienced in their work, and could carry out their system of wrong and robbery, and murder in case of opposition, unchecked by man's remonstrances and unmoved by woman's tears. "Plunder," it is well known, was a word new to the English language. It is said by honest Fuller to have been a word of foreign importation; but, if the origin of the new expression were obscure, its meaning was plain enough, and all agreed with Taylor, the Water Poet, and Mrs. Jefferies, that plunderer, interpreted in English, meant a thief. The Earl of Stamford, a weak unprincipled character, began by professing that no wrong should be done to any man; but, having himself been proclaimed a traitor, he thought it just that certain parties should be singled out as objects of his displeasure. Mr. Geers, of Garnons, with whom Mrs. Jefferies had sought a refuge, was one of them, and she tells us what befell her in her retreat.

Friday, the 30. The parliaments Army cam to herifford frō Worster, Henry Gray, Earle of Stamford, y^e Generall. On Tewsday morning, October 4, captain Hamon and his barbarous company plundered Mr. Geereses howse at Garnons, both them and me of much Goods, toke a way my 2 bay coache mares and som money, and much Linen: and Elyza Acton's clothes. I cam frō Garnons y^e same Tewsday to Mr. John Garpinder's to Hinton, a mile off, and staid there till the 14 of December following.

I lent Mr. Francis Geers y^e younger to goe in to Wales, after his fathers house was plundered and a man kild 40s.

^a Letters of a Subaltern Officer, &c. in *Archæologia*, XXXV. p. 332. The Bishop was Dr. George Coke, who died in 1646.—Duncumb, *Collections towards the Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Hereford*, i. 490.

This, however, was not a solitary instance of the excesses then committed. The spoilers issued from Hereford in various directions. They searched the habitations of the suspected for arms, and a warrant to search was a licence to steal. It may be mentioned, incidentally, that at this time Swift, the Vicar of Goodrich, an ancestor of the celebrated Dean Swift, fell beneath their lash. Kyrle, the captain already mentioned, one of that family who claim the Man of Ross, brought his men into Goodrich Castle, then the property of the Earl of Kent, and tormented all the Royalists in that neighbourhood. In five visits to the vicarage his followers carried off everything on which they could lay their hands, left his wife and children and servants hardly a garment to shelter them from the winter's cold, and threatened any one with vengeance who should dare to show them mercy. Ten weeks his myrmidons remained in garrison at the castle, living upon the spoil of the country, and on quitting it paid two parting visits to the vicarage, which they stripped of the last loaf of bread: a wanton soldier, as a final act of inhumanity, seized the infant's porringer from the nurse, threw out its contents, and carried it away.^a

But we are to follow Mrs. Jefferies in her flight, who had been all this while secreting herself, as well as she might, with a trembling heart, at Hinton. Though she had sustained much loss in her clothes, and favourite horses, and money, she had suffered no personal injury: neither was all lost. In this retirement she found security, and the portion of her goods that had escaped was lodged in safe keeping, as it afterwards was, on its being brought back to Garnons, when she returned thither December 14, 1642. They seem to have been dispersed in several hiding-places in the parish of Mansell Gamage,^b where they continued unmolested while she remained in that part of the country.

January 7. feare of y^e plunder(er)s. Gave goody Lawrence for keeping clothes of myne and Eliza Actons in y^e hill for feare 1s.

Two articles upon which she set some value were recovered by her steward from Captain Hammond's soldiers that had taken them at Garnons.

Paid Mathias Rufford, w^{ch} he laied out to redeeme my 2 black bever Hatts, and 2 gould bands out of y^e theeffes, or plunderers hand, they took at Garnons 21s. 6d.

Soldiers had been in the meanwhile quartered at her house in Hereford, where she had left maid servants, and occasionally placed Eliza Acton in charge.

^a Mercurius Rusticus, p. 71, *et seq.*

^b Mansell Gamage, in the hundred of Grimsworth, about eight miles W.N.W. of Hereford.

November 30. I sent Bes Newton by Tho^s Harris to bye pvision for 4 souldiers that dietted at my howse 10s.

The conduct of Lord Stamford's soldiers at the house of her friend and relative Mr. Geers, as well as at her own in Hereford, where she sustained considerable damage, produced a lasting impression of terror upon her; but she indulges in a little exultation at having in one instance eluded their rapacity.

Mault sould Novem. 18, 1642. Eliza Acton sould it. Sould and receued of Mrs. Jane Higgings of Heriford, widdow and bruer: for 80 boz of barley mault I sould for feare of the earle of Stanford's plundering of my howses in heriford, w^{ch} hee did most in humanely, I had 3s. 8d. a boz, cam to 14l. 3s. 4d.

And she could not but be a little pleased to regain something that had been in his lordship's possession, who seems to have shifted his head-quarters from the Bishop's palace.

Paid y^e man of y^e fethers for 4 cariges of my boords frö the Lord Stanford's lodging at Mrs. Wardins howse in Heriford 2s.

But she would not trust herself to leave her hiding-place till the day (Dec. 14) on which he marched out of Hereford. The Royalists then took possession once more of the city, and her friend and cousin Fitz-William Conyngesby of Hampton Court, sheriff of the county, and one of the commissioners of array, came in and was appointed governor for the King.^a Next follows, what is not at all to be wondered at, after her fright, fatigue, peril, and loss, that she became ill.

Dec. 16. Gave Doctor Harford's^b man when I was sick at Garnons 2s. 6d.
Paid for a matt to put by my bed-side 20d.

Governor Conyngesby had much difficulty at first in procuring money to pay his garrison. It was raised by regular assessment and contribution, and of course she was called upon for her quota. She did not, however, confine herself to this, but sent him a voluntary offering, which no doubt was highly acceptable.

Dec. 27. I sent my good frend Mr. ffrancis Geeres y^e yonger to Mr. Coningesby to pay souldiers at heriford as a present 50l.
and a fatt bullock worth 6l. also of a present.

At Garnons she spent the remainder of the winter in peace. The country was

^a His commission from the Marquess of Hertford bears date December 20, 1642.—Papers of Sir Edward Walker, Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. 6851.

^b Bridstock Harford, a physician of great repute in Hereford.

undisturbed. The labourers lit their Twelfth Eve fires as usual, and she helped to promote their mirth.

Twelf eve, Dec. 5. Gave to the wassell for y^e bailiff and y^e hindes . 6*d*.

But trouble was once more at hand. In February, 1642-3, Lord Herbert of Raglan had raised an army of 1,500 men, which he rashly marched towards Gloucester, where the Earl of Stamford had left that active soldier Massey as governor. Part of the Herefordshire levies, with the royal commissioners of the county, appear to have joined them at Ross. She witnessed the departure of the men of her own parish with glee.

1643, March 27. This Monday morning the men of Little Mansell and all this contrey of heryfordshire went to Rosse to meete the other army, and I gave them (5*s*. dashed out) . 1*s*.

They marched full of confidence in expectation of obtaining great advantages against the governor of Gloucester, to block up the place, and compel him to surrender. They little knew the adversary with whom they had to deal. Their first step was to take possession of Highnam, the seat of Colonel Cooke, in the neighbourhood of the city; when Sir William Waller, the Parliamentary general, by one of his celebrated night marches, joining his forces with those of Massey, pounced upon them, and captured all the foot, together with the commissioners of array for Herefordshire, and, among the latter, her dear friend "noble Fitz-William Conyngesby," of whom, till he comes to be sequestered, we find no more. This serious blow to the Royalists of the county could not abate the timid lady's alarm, though she has passed it over, being at a considerable distance from the scene of action. Hereford, where Colonel Herbert Price succeeded Conyngesby in command, was the object of another expedition from Gloucester in the ensuing month; when Waller again made a dash into the county, and appeared before the city walls on the morning of April 24, to the utter dismay of the feeble garrison and townsmen, incapable of effectual resistance. Several feints were made at Saint Owen's and Eign Gates, but the true point of attack was at Widemarsh Gate.^a Her residence being not far from this entrance, was injured a little in the scuffle,—for it can hardly be dignified by the name of a fight, though Mrs. Jefferies has thought proper to set it down as a siege.

April 24, 1643. he cam, and 25 Wensday, &c. he entered y^e citty. Paid John Baddam for mending y^e tile over my new closett, w^{ch} Sr Will^m Wallers sowldiers brake downe to shote at Widmarsh gate when he besieged y^e citty of heriford 4*d*.

^a See the narrative of Sir Richard Cave in Duncumb, i. 245, *et seq.*

Some of these intruders were probably not over scrupulous as to part of her property.^a

Paid Richard Winnye smith for mending lokes and kayes at heriford w^{ch} the plunderrs brooke 16*d*.

Many of them were billeted at her house, as she says, "for nothing."

Cheese. Paid Maud Pritchett for a cheese when Sr Wiſſm Waller was in Heriford for his souldiers that I kept 18*d*.

By some false confidence she had so far prevailed upon herself as to visit her "new house" about a fortnight before; but the renewed expectation of the enemy drove her once more from the distracted city to her quiet nook at Garnons. In great distress she had migrated, April 20, before their arrival, lodging one night at the dwelling of a peasant on her way.

Goodwife Stefens, alias Cap, for one nights lodging at her howse in hill for feare of ye souldiers 18*d*.

Paid the man of the fethers in Heriford for bringing trunks and cheste frō Heriford to George Edwards howse in Little Mansell to keepe 6*s*.

I find her moving her goods, trunks, and chest from house to house in May and at other times in 1643, and once more sitting down in the family of her cousin, Mr. Geers, for a whole year. Foot-prints of war are visible in several parts of her account for 1643.

July 4. Watching. Paid to a man for watching a night at Widemarsh gate 4*d*.

Oct. Gray nagg sould. Rece. of Leifftenant Rogers (that cam out of Ireland wth a troop of souldiers to Leominster for the king) for my Gray nagge £4. 5*s*.

Novem. 24. gave a poore souldier to help to heale his head 6*d*.

Paid a lewne in Heriford towards the fier at the gates in heriford for ye souldiers to watch bye, 4*s*.

Still she was at a distance from the scene. About April, 1644, after Prince Rupert had been appointed president of this and many other counties, Herefordshire and Shropshire were seriously disturbed by the activity and excesses of the contending parties. Hopton and Brampton Bryan Castles were taken by Sir Michael Woodhouse, and Massey was conducting a series of operations against the governor and garrison of Hereford. In this month of April, fertile in military occurrences, Mrs. Jefferies suddenly is on the wing again. Apparently for the last

^a Sir William Waller carried off considerable booty of plate and money in this excursion. Mrs. Jefferies was rated among the highest in the contribution extorted from Widemarsh Ward. She paid 40*l*. Only three householders were assessed so high, and no one above it, in the whole city.—MS. Papers of Price, the Mayor, in 1642-43, by favour of the Rev. W. Poole.

time as a housekeeper, she pays a visit to the city, discharging all her debts, and bestowing her favours upon the servants at Garnons before her departure; and these entries show the sort of establishment then existing in that family:—

April 17. This day I cam from Garnons to heriford.

Imp^s. I paid my Cosen ffrancis Geers and his wyfe, som tyme Mrs. Elizabeth Acton, for one monthes diett, for my self, and Joyse Simons my maide, due this Wensday,

Aprill 17, 1644 50s.

I gave the servants at Garnons when I cam away frō thence to heriford to my owne howse.

Imp^s. I gave ould Anne Buzby, widdow, my goddaughter Geeres governess of her howse, 18d.

Gave John buttry her man there 18d.

Gave Jane the deymaid 1s. and peeke the bailiff 1s. 2s.

Gave ould Snead a workman 6d.

Gave ould Mrs. Geerses servants as foloweth:—

Gave ould Joane Gardiner and Margrett 2s.

Gave Mrs. Shusan Garnons 1s. to Cooksey 1s. 2s.

A little explanatory addition or memorandum is appended to this, to show why he is included out of place:—

Cooksey ys my cosin Ffrancis Geerses boy, and I gave him 1s.

Gave Elizabeth Yong, Mr. Thomas Geeres maide and his wyfes, she cam frō London 1s.

Then we have her own journey:—

On Shrove Thursday, at heriford, to John Cappe, alias Stefens, for cariing some clothes of myne from Garnons to Heriford 6d.

I cam frō Garnons on Wensday, 17 Aprill, 1644, to heriford, to my new howse.

Here she stops only two nights and a day; and on the third day, with some of her goods and attendants, takes leave of this edifice, on which she had spent so much money, apparently for ever:—

I cam from Heriford to Homcastle on Good Friday, April 19, 1644.

Her steward had charge of this removal, and it is accounted for in the month ensuing:—

May. Mathias Rufford's Disburz. Paid at the 2 Journeys wth y^e teames frō Garnons to Homcastle to bring over my trunks and chestes, &c. viles for my servants by the way 1s.

Paid the 2 men, the one for y^e loane of his coult and 2 horses, y^e other for his paines in coming and goinge wth them from to Homcastle 5s.

wth 3 trunks and 1 greate box from Garnons to Homcastle, gave M^r Childes man, at Wofferlow,^a for one nights resting there with the cariage 6d.

^a Wolverley (?), two miles north-west from Kidderminster, in the county of Worcester.

We are now arrived at Homcastle, so often mentioned, the house of her cousin Jefferies, pleasantly situated on the river Teme, in a most retired and less disturbed part of the country, leaving Hereford and its warlike occupants to their fate. Still, as proprietor, she is exposed to charges there.

Gave an honest carpinder for preserving my tymber frō the Governors knowledge, w^{ch} sought for tymber to make works to defend heriford 1s.
May, 1644. Paid for work donn in making bullwarks to defend the Citty of heriford frō invasion 20d.

At that time Hereford was placed under strict military control, and the then governor was Colonel Nicholas Mynne, one of those who brought their regiments out of Ireland to aid the King. No braver Cavalier ever drew his sword for Charles I. It was hoped that he would have proved a match for the governor of Gloucester, who had become the terror of the Royalists in those parts. Mynne began well: his operations were conducted with vigour and success, but the fortune of his antagonist, Massey, prevailed, and in a bloody action at Redmarley, in August, 1644, on the border of the county, the Royalist colonel, with the greatest part of his Anglo-Irish regiment, was slain.^a He died lamented by the soldier and the townsman, and his memory is cherished by those who claim to be descendants of that family, and are with us to this day. It is little known, though matter of local history not uninteresting nor unprofitable, how deeply Hereford was implicated in the vicissitudes of that eventful quarrel. Twice entered and occupied, with little or no resistance, in the earlier part of the war, once gallantly and successfully defended, once captured by stratagem against a bold struggle, it changed hands four times in the course of the contest, till at last it was permanently occupied and retained by the Parliamentarians, under Colonels Birch and Morgan.^b Of the five governors^c that held it for the King, two were taken prisoners, two were slain sword in hand, and the last, after opposing with great applause the attempt of the Scots to gain possession of the city by regular siege, was surprised in his bed by the entrance of the enemy on a winter's morning, and escaped with disgrace and difficulty across the moat.

Throughout the period that intervened between the spring of 1644 and the

^a Corbet. *Military Government*, &c. in *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, p. 111. Gloucester, 1825. Small 4to.

^b Hereford was surprised December 18, 1645.—*A New Tricke to take Townes*, &c. London, printed by E. G. 1645, small 4to.

^c One of them, Colonel Barnard, killed afterwards at the storming of Canon-Frome, held it only for a short time in 1644, between the death of Mynne and the appointment of Scudamore.

autumn of 1645, crowded as it was with military occurrences, and trodden down as the country was with roving soldiers, she seems personally to have been undisturbed. Still, though she had her lodge, as it were, in a wilderness, the tumult and withering consequences of these hostilities would sometimes reach her ear and her purse. For awhile she received rents from her property in Hereford. Receipts and disbursements indicate the state of affairs there. At last a removal of furniture takes place, and she gives up her rented house.

Aug. 1644. Paid to workmen for cariinge som houshold frō my lower Howse in Heriford to my upper new howse in y^e same Widmarsh streete 11s.

On this occasion her coach, though the mares had long since ceased to draw it, was brought forth from its place of concealment in the country.

Gave Mr. Dockter Aldern's man for his horses to fetch my coach from Garnons to heriford 1s.

October. Paid Mrs. Fletcher and her mother-in-law one yeares rent for the ould howse I did dwell in Widmarsh streete in heriford, due at Micklmas, 1644; then I left y^e howse, 6l.

Paid hayward the tailer, for and towards the fier for the maine guard in heriford . . . 4s.

January, 1644. Rece. of Walter James of Heriford, bruer, for 3 hoggsheads & 2 lesser vessells for the usse of the Salt peeter men there 20s.

March. Given to souldiers that were sent to be quartered in my new howse 3 severall tymes 16d.

A party of foragers or plunderers visited one of her estates, and she was terrified at the news.

1645, May. gave Tho. Griffiths my servant that brought me word of the fearefull souldiers that were at bradard 6d.

A side-note in July of the same year gives a hint of a visit from one of the military chiefs at the place where she was residing. The name of his companion is concealed by a blank omission.

Saturday, y^e 12 day, generall Garritt cam to Homcastle wth with him and went away on Sunday.

Sir Gilbert Gerrard—a name simple enough, but variously twisted by the writers of the time—was then governor of Worcester. At last, with respect to her possessions in Hereford, came one of those dire necessities of warfare, in which private property must yield to the whirlwind of the hour. The demolition of suburbs is a well-known operation in the expectation of a siege. Massey destroyed them at Gloucester in 1643,^a and Colonel Barnabas Scudamore at Hereford in 1645. Mrs. Jefferies shall tell you how this affected her. The whole of the environs were laid bare up to the walls; and most effectually was the work of

^a Corbet, *ut supra*, p. 45.

destruction accomplished. Sir Henry Slingsby, a noted Royalist officer, who was well acquainted with the place, and admired the beauty of the parts adjacent, mentions the havoc in terms of much regret. The orchards, gardens, trees, and houses, were all destroyed. He looked in vain for the house in which he had been once quartered. It was pulled down; and he affirms that the mistress of it, his landlady, at sight of the ruin, had died of very grief.^a Not so our cheerful and benevolent lady: not a syllable of the hardship of this proceeding escapes her. Finding it inevitable, she notes it as matter of course, and makes the best of it.

1645, May. Rece. of Maud Prichet half a yeeres rent for her howse in Widmarsh streete in Heriford, due at Holirood day, 1645, being the last that ever she paid, for she removed, and my howses were pulled downe 30s.

Before it was put in execution, she sent her steward to save some part of the property, and make presents of the produce of her garden.

July. Paid Mathias Rufford diet and a horse 8 daies in heriford being there to poole downe y^e glasse in y^e windose, and the dores, and in going Abroad: both in y^e Cittye and County upon my busines, at 1s. a day, wth gardin Salitts 8s.
Paid the glazier for pulling down the glass 18d.
Paid him for cariing hit and putting hit into the two greate chests in y^e gardin 8d.
beere for the men that cam wth Richard teage to fetch up the stuff that Mrs. Anne Ailway caused to be sent to his howse, where serion hosskins^b did dwell 1s.
gave John Joiner for helping to cary in the dores, shelves, and wainscott, out of the saw pitt in my new gardin, into my coache howse 6d.

In the following January the aforesaid trunks re-appear.

17.—Gave David Williams, y^e bailiff at Homcastle, for helping to gett my truncks out of y^e ground 6d.

The razing of her buildings is testified by the sale of the materials: it is total destruction; great, but not entire, loss.

June, 1645. The severall names of those men that bought my 3 houses in Heriford w^{thout} widmarsh gate, when I was constrained to sell them or have them burned against the earle of Leven: general Lessley wth his Scotts (being 2500 men^c) cam to beseege Heriford 5 weecks & went away w^{thout} hit.^d

^a Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, p. 163. Oxford, 1836. 8vo.

^b Serjeant Hoskyns, an eminent lawyer, member for the city of Hereford in the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

^c Marginal.

^d *i. e.* without taking it. In this expression more is meant than meets the eye. The people of Hereford city and county entertained a contemptuous feeling towards the Scots on account of their failure. The siege was raised September 2, 1645.

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| Imp ^s . yong Mr holmes the mercer in heriford bought my greate new howse (hit stood me in above 500 <i>l.</i>), w th a greate deale of squared tymber at the saw pitt, w th glasse: and all apurtinances ther too | 50 <i>l.</i> |
| It. Haiward a tailer, and William Price shue maker, Bought my howse over the way called Gowlding Halle for | 3 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> |
| Phillip Preece Bought Maude Prichet's Halle and the inner Roome | 4 <i>l.</i> |
| Walter Merrick and on Butler bought the greate Hale, and the Roomes over hit | 11 <i>l.</i> |
| Joseph Bowker Bought the Roomes over the Staiers case by the well at | 3 <i>l.</i> |
| | 71 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> |

Other effects of the changes produced by the war obtrude themselves on our notice, and she acquiesces in them. Lecturers are introduced into the parish churches more extensively, and the Directory supplants the Common Prayer.

1646, September 24. I begann to pay a weeckely diett for 3 prechers in clifton : from Thursday the second day of July, 1646 : vnto Thursday the first day of October, being 14 weeckes after 3 : s. a weecke for 14 : weeckes. I gave it out of my well meaning to maintaine the weeckly lecturer at Clifton vpon teame 42*s.*

Tuesday, 8: of Desember. About 12: a clocke at noone Samuuell Jeffreys, my cosin Willim Jeffreys 8th sonne, was borne, and Baptised after the new derectory : on Saturday, God bless him.

Next we have the Parliamentary committee-men laying their hands upon property in all quarters, and straitening her means. Her friend and kinsman Fitz-William Conyngesby was most heavily mulcted; and through him she suffered. His estates at Hampton Court and elsewhere, already deeply pledged, fell into the hands of strangers. His mansion, in a state of desolation, was all but untenanted; while the owner sought refuge in a foreign country, leaving his wife and family to look for bread where they could find it, or implore a pittance from their rapacious adversaries.^a Her annuity of a hundred marks out of the

^a The representation is not overdrawn. As the eldest daughter of Henry Neville, Lord of Bergavenny, and wife of the owner of Hampton Court, Cecilia Conyngesby must have enjoyed something more than the common advantages of life prior to this reverse. But by the pressure of the time she was reduced almost to the condition of a pauper, and became an earnest suppliant and humble dependant upon the tender mercies of a capricious and not very honest junto. From 1650 to 1652 her applications for relief, still preserved among the Composition Documents in the State-Paper Office, are frequent and most importunate. In her petition to Goldsmiths' Hall, dated September 20, 1650, she begs for a fifth out of her husband's estates in the counties of Hereford, Worcester, Salop, and Leicester, "to maintain her and her great charge of children;" and an order is sent to the commissioners of these counties that they cause the said estates to be sequestered, and make allowance accordingly. On the 16th of August, 1651, nothing having been done, she again addresses the board in London, setting forth that the country commissioners had given no obedience to the first order; and that, though another had been made, and received their signatures, it had been

estate of Neen Solars was for a time cut off, and only in part recovered before her decease. She is herself fined in Herefordshire; but relieved by the kind offices of a friend.

July 2. for y^e parliam^t service. Gave Mr Rich. Nicholetts for his frendship to stop my paiing 100*l.* to heriford comitty 10*s.*

Then come the Shropshire committee upon her.

1647, Aprill 19, Ester Monday. gaue Humfrey Hardman^a for bringing me 17*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* in part of my St. Mary day anuety, 1647, from nene solers 2*s.* 6*d.*
21. gave him to beare his charges to wenlock, when he went with my brother H. Coñ will to shew hit to the Jury, to extend Mr Fitzwill^m Coningesbie's Land in Shropshire for his dett to S^r Tho. Allen of London 5*s.*

suppressed. The property was then once more ordered to be sequestered, and an inquiry to be made as to who had received the rents; and "they shall consider of a fifth part." On September 8th, 1652, her application is renewed, with a plea of urgent distress: "Your petitioner's condition is more than ordinary sad, by reason of her children's want of a natural support of food. Your petitioner therefore once more implores your honours' favourable order for a fifth part out of Shropshire lands." An answer, deferred till the 29th, informs her that the estate is under extent to Sir Thomas Allen, and while it is so "we can allow no fifths." In October and November, being only supported, as she avers, by the little credit left her, "she renews her solicitation, and controverts the truth of the plea of "extent;" and, after some apparent shuffling on the part of the clerk of the country committee, an order is obtained from London that an inquiry be made and a certificate drawn up by the Salop commissioners themselves.

The struggle is thus ultimately narrowed to one-fifth of the annual rent of Fitz-William Conyngesby's claims upon the very Neen-Solars estate out of which Mrs. Jefferies's annuity was also paid, the London creditor having, as to all his other property, laid his hands upon the lion's share; and it helps to show that her suspicions as to the fraudulent intentions of the agents in Salop were not altogether groundless.

How much longer Cecilia Conyngesby was teased and kept at bay in this state of indigence has not been discovered. Yet the case, hard as it may appear (and that there was some unusual difficulty in it cannot be denied), is not the worst of the kind that might be selected. Surely the sickness of hope deferred must have been epidemic among the sufferers in the royal cause.

As to her husband, he had all this while, though absent from England, been plying the sequestrators with petitions on behalf of himself and his family. His affairs, however, had fallen into a most complicated condition. Before the war broke out, in 1641, his estates were deeply encumbered with a debt, according to his own representation, of 20,000*l.* In December 1650 he owed Sir Thomas Allen, a money-lender in London, 4,836*l.* 12*s.* He had borrowed at 8 per cent., and every month and six days, by his creditors' showing, his liabilities were increasing 40*l.* In October 1655 his fine, as one who had been a Member of Parliament, was set at 4,243*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* In the confused and inaccurate "Catalogue of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen that have compounded for their Estates," printed for Thomas Dring in 1655, his name does not appear.—Composition Documents, State-Paper Office, Series I. vol. i. f. 575, *et seq.*; vol. xvii. f. 101, *et seq.* ff. 110, 113; Series II. vol. xlviii. ff. 311, 320, 321.

^a He was a bailiff at Neen Solars, and seems to have occupied also a portion of the estate; for mention is made of his lease.

Here a little trait of kind consideration peeps out. His journey was a failure for his employer, but he was no loser by it. He got a good wetting by the way; but something to make amends for it.

24. Item, I gave Humfrey Har(d)man when he cam back from Wenlock in most Rainy wether in a great fludd and lost his Jurney 10s.

He is no sooner returned when he is ordered up to Shrewsbury on the same errand, and an official must be feed.

25. delivered Humfrey Hardman at his journey to Shorsbery to shew the will to y^e Jurye there that I had a right to 100 marks p anñ.—to giue the vnder-sheriff of Shropshire frō me 20s.

In the month of June he must appear before them once more.

- June 7. Humfrey Hardman. I gave Humfrey Hardman of Nene Sollers for going to Shrewsbury to shew my brother Humfrey Conyngesbyes will to Sr Thō. Allen's Comysioners, when he would have seasoned vpon the Lordship of Nene for Mr Fitz William's dett upon an extent for And would a had my Anuety frō me also. I say I gave Humfrey Hardman then 10s.

The Hereford committee, by a scrutiny that was ultimately instituted, were found guilty of great iniquity in the management of Royalist sequestrations. Something they allowed her; but, while they abstained from total deprivation, they seem to have tampered with her income, part of which was withheld from her to the last.

- November 22. Order. My cosin Jeffreys paid the Clarck for writing an order graunted by y^e cōmitties of heriford that at 6 weekes ende I shall have my . . . sent againe w^{ch} they wrongfully toke off me 2s. 6d.

But the menial door-keeper, as well as the clerk, must have his gratuity.^a

Item, my cosin Jeff^s gaue y^e dore keep. of y^e cōmitties chambers in y^e pallas of heriford, 1s.

As she herself was thus injuriously treated, so she could extend her compassion to others who were suffering under more direct and open outrage; and this shall be the last incident noticed that bears on the war.

- 1647, March 24. I gave a poore minester and his wyfe, John Powell, that weare goinge to y^e parliament to London to begge Releefe, being plundered at Ludlow by Sir Michael Woodhouse and his souldiers of all they had 1s.

^a In act ii. of Sir Robert Howard's satirical drama, "The Committee," two Cavalier colonels, who come to compound for their estates, fee the doorkeeper of the committee-room, both at their entrance and exit.

She seems to have been born, as it were, in some measure, and within her little sphere, to mitigate the asperities of a cruel time, and to set an example of charity and patience "in running the race that was set before her." Sir Michael Woodhouse, the governor of Ludlow for the King, was one of those officers who had served in Ireland—brave, but of a temper stern and severe. Woe to the Puritan divine or Roundhead soldier who had offended him, and fallen into his hands! He might deem himself fortunate if he escaped with his life. At the siege of Hopton Castle, a fortified mansion on the borders of Salop and Herefordshire, the little garrison, after a gallant resistance, surrendered to him at mercy. Without more ado he drew them up near the castle walls, and put them, in cold blood, every one but More, the governor, to the sword.^a His name was long held in abhorrence in those parts. Antiquaries owe him no respect. He took, sacked, and destroyed by fire, Sir Robert Harley's residence, the neighbouring castle of Brampton Bryan, and in it a noble and valuable library—a former Harleian collection, containing, it is said, documents inestimable for the history and antiquities of England and Wales.^b

Passing now from public events, our remaining observations shall be chiefly confined to personal character. As years advance a symptom or two of infirmity make their appearance. The spectacles, and the favourite spoon and diamond ring, are missing, and found and brought to her by her attendants, who always have a reward.

| | | |
|----------------|--|-----|
| 1646, July 5. | gave Elinor Hill for finding y ^e silver plate of my specktales at Homcastle . | 6d. |
| 30. | gave Bes Jones for finding my diamond ring | 6d. |
| 1647, July 20. | gave Joyse Simons for finding my Guilt spoone | 6d. |
| Dec. 16. | gave Vrsula for finding the red cornelian ring that was my cosin Harberd Jeffreyses | 6d. |

Suspicion is always disagreeable, often unjust; but there are times and circumstances under which it forces its way in spite of ourselves. After what Mr. Henry Jefferies has told us of the knavery of her servants towards her, it is perhaps not

^a Blakeway, *Sheriffs of Shropshire*, p. 216, *et seq.*; *The True Informer*, March 16 to 23, 1643–4; King's Pamphlets, small 4to. British Museum.

^b Dr. Bentley has an allusion to this library in the Dedication of his *Horace* to the Earl of Oxford, where, after mentioning the Harleian Manuscripts then existing, and increasing in number, he adds: "*Hic tibi instrumentorum veterum, partim in Urbe, partim rure in avitis ædibus, Bramtoniæ castello (quod ab Edwardi usque I. ætate per Bryanum Harleium, equitem, ad seros adhuc nepotes demissum est) thesaurus adservatur; quotidiano quidem is auctu crescens, et jam nunc multo ditior futurus, nisi ad alia damna per Civiles superiore sæculo tumultus, castellis, templis, villis, nemoribusque vestris illata Bibliothecæ quoque locupletissimæ direptione accessisset.*"—*Hor. Bentr. Dedicatio*. Edit. alt. Amst. 1713. 4to.

unfair to suggest that these instances may, some of them, be symptomatic of the manner in which she was, now and then, treated by those who had daily access to her. It has been related of Prince Eugene of Savoy, that his servants took dexterous advantage of his foible of immoderate anger, and threw themselves in the way of his fits of passion, that they might get a sound beating from him and its never-failing accompaniment, a reward to make it up. Thus, probably, the attendants of Mrs. Jefferies, though in a different method, might make a profit of her failing memory by hiding and reproducing these valuables in order to a remuneration. Here is another minute fact that savours as much of simplicity in the one party as chicanery in the other, if our hypothesis be not unjust. A fair is held at Worcester, and the maids from Homcastle of course attend it. What does she do in this case ?

1644. gave the 4 maids at Homcastle at Worcester faire on our Lady day: videl: Hester Packer y^e butler, Elinor burraston y^e coock, Barbara y^e day maide, and Elysabeth Joanes y^e baker, to eche 1s.

What ensues ?

Gave barbara y^e day mayd y^t lost y^e former 1s. I gave her 1s.

Whence the not unnatural suggestion ariseth, that the ingenious Barbara had discovered a method of overcoming the generally received impossibility of "eating the cake and having it." But the maids were always in her favour, and, if she could find no readier excuse for showing it than by making them presents at stated times, she invented vicarious means of slipping vails into their hands.

1647, Sept. 10. Friday my cosin katherin Homes went to Worcester, and went toward London on Monday folowing in parshore Waggon 40s.
I gave her more; I gave her to give the maids at Homcastle, and y^e man coock and housekeep, and so she went towards London 2s. 6d.

The gentle current of her declining days was towards the close disturbed by a sad event, which she describes with melancholy exactness.

1647. At hom castle, November 1. legge cutt off. My cosin Harberd Jeffreys died about 12: a clock at noone when his left legge was cutt off close vnder the knee: on Monday, Alholand day, he broke his legge at Clifton: 22 day in the hole of a yeat post, anent Anthony borastons howse, and was caried in to that howse Saturday: and was caried home to Homcastle on the morow: and as soone as his legg (was) cut off (by 2: surjons of Worcester, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Addis) he died, and was bur. on Wensday y^e 3th day in Cliftons chancell.

Tuesday, 29 Oct. gave my cosin Harberd Jeffreys to pay Mr. Adiss, his surion, for setting his broken ligge 20s.

Age seems to have abated nothing of her generous feeling, or of the ardour of her domestic affections. In all those events which usually bring joy to families, and occasion entries in our parish registers, she heartily sympathised. A marriage, even of a servant, was an occurrence that always appeared highly to interest her. In the year before she transplanted herself into Worcestershire she derived the highest gratification from that union of Miss Acton with one of the sons of Mr. Geers to which frequent allusion has been already made. Besides giving her, for those days, a handsome portion, she took upon herself the arrangement of the settlement, defrayed incidental expenses, and makes the following memoranda descriptive of her satisfaction.

1643, August 15. 300*l.* paid. I paid ould Mr. Francis Geeres of Garnons in part of 800*l.* porſion that I gave Elizabeth Acton to her mariage wth his second sonn, Mr. Francis Geers. God bless them both 300*l.*
 Eliza Acton's Jointer. To Mr. Thomas Edmunds of Heryford, aturney, for drawing and ingrossing y^e Conveyance of y^e land and Joynture for Elizabeth Acton 50*s.*
 Paid Mr. Willm Bruges of Temple Court, in Bosbery's parish: that he laied out to Mr Streete, a cowncelor in Worcester, for pvsing y^e draught 10*s.*

The clerks in these solicitors' offices are not forgotten.

18. Gave Mr. Bridges clark, and Mr. Tho^s Edmunds clark, 10*s.*; 3*l.* 10*s.* in feese.
 September 5. Paid the butcher for a fatt weather to present this bride woeman at her wedding day 6*s.* 6*d.*

She was manifestly very proud of her. The portion was made up by instalments, and on the last payment she has this note:—

1647, Munday, November 15. 150*l.* paid in full of 800*l.* porſon and made even. I delivered my cosin Jeffreys to goe to pay Mr. francis Geers of Garnons : the ellder : in full for his daughter in Laws porſion : 100*l.* and 50*l.* more he receved of mr. Tho. Veinoll in full : both was 150*l.*
 So I praise God all the 800*l.* is paid, and we are even.

But, it may be repeated, her greatest triumph, and one that her relations and acquaintance took care she should frequently enjoy, was at a christening. Here she was perfectly "happy and glorious," if we may judge from what she herself tells us.

Childe borne called Joyce.—Memorand. that my cosin Mrs. Jane Jeffreys of homcastle was delivered of a daughter about a q^rter of an howre before 9 a clock at night on thirsdays night, being christmas eves eve; and the 23: day of Desember, 1647—and hit was baptised on y^e monday following, being St. John's day 27: day, 1647: and named Joyce::: ould Mrs. Barckley: and my

self Joyse Jeffreys weare Gossips. God blesse hitt: Amen. hit went home wth nurce nott to the smeeths in greate Shelsleys parish,^a y^e same munday after diner to nurce.

December 27. Gave the midwyfe, Good wyfe hewes of vpper tedston,^b the christening day 10s.

Munday. Gave nurce Nott y^e same day 10s.

This was only about a quarter of a year before she ceased to keep her diary;^c and, if the expressions should be thought to savour somewhat of anility, it can hardly be denied that they are the offspring of warm and benevolent feelings, still in their freshness, vigorous, and impenetrable to the chill of age. But what at this season gave the strong spur to her emotion, was the circumstance of the infant having been called by her own Christian name.

Into whatever part of this document we examine, as it draws towards the end, it abates nothing of its proofs of her generosity. In the disbursement account a great, it may be said the greater, number of the items begin with the word "Gave." In the receipts it is again and again "I forgave." The payments of rent, and interest, and arrears were cramped by the pressure of public and private difficulties; and this good lady apparently scorned to add to them in others, though she must herself have felt them heavily, recording them with the same artless mode of expression that prevails throughout the book.

Rece. at heriford assises in August 1647 by my cosin Jeffreys of Mr. David bowin of heriford,

Alderman, in full payment of 4*li*. 16s. tolerasion for 20*li*.

w^{ch} Mr. Phillip Trahern owed me in his life tyme 2*li*. 16s.

I forgave Mr. bowin & rece. 40s.

Rece. of Mrs. Francis Heriford of Sufton^d in part 8*li*.

Of 15*li*. tolerasion, for 100*li*. due August 19, 1647, the other 7*li*. I forgave her 8*li*.

August. rece. no usse money.

Oct^r 22. I rece. at Homcastle of Mr. Tho. Veinall, of Heriford, for 2 yeaes demy use for 50*li*. due June 29, 1647, 10*li*. of which I forgave him 40s. and had 8*li*. clear to my purse.

Thus did she continue to go on, with blessings upon her lips, and her right hand full of gifts, without intermission, till the grave closed over all that was mortal, and amiable, and singular in the character and conduct of one whose parallel is

^a Shelsley Beauchamp, a parish in the hundred of Doddingtree, and county of Worcester, 8½ miles south-west from Stourport.

^b Tedstone Delamere and Tedston Wafer are parishes in the hundred of Broxash, and county of Hereford, within 5 miles towards the north-east of Bromyard.

^c The latter part of it betrays some failure and irregularity in the handwriting. Her last entry of receipts bears date April 1, 1648; of disbursements, March 27, 1648.

^d Sufton Court, the seat of Richard Hereford, Esq. near Hereford.

not easy to be found. It has frequently occurred to me, in looking through the pages of this diary, that the independent and bountiful disposition of the writer may not inappropriately in part be compared with that delineated in a well-known epitaph :

What I gave, I have.

What I spent, I had.

What I left, I lost.

But the comparison holds good only in part. The closing passage of the triad, though not intended as an expression of selfish regret, may perhaps convey the notion of it too nearly to suit the disposition of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies, since it was hardly possible that she who was so openhearted to others could have envied her successors what she left behind her.

The outline that has been here attempted is, I am aware, very imperfect; indeed, the selections made from this book form but a small portion of its riches. The copiousness of the subject is its embarrassment, and the original can alone set her forth in her true proportions. The portrait of herself, sketched unwittingly by her own hand, rude and artless though it be, is highly attractive. In its exhibition of times, and circumstances, and manners, and touches of vernacular dialect and orthography, in accord with modern provincial pronunciation, lies its value to the philologist, historian, and antiquary; but in its simplicity is its charm. As respects herself, little did she think that, in compiling these accounts, she was about to present, after a lapse of upwards of two centuries, a more expressive memorial of her virtues than any that her surviving relatives could have placed on her tomb.

And so it has fallen out, that nothing appears to have been hitherto done to mark the spot where she lies; neither has the exact period of her decease been ascertained, though the codicil of her will (see ante, p. 193) carries her forward to 1650, and it has been shown that she was buried in the chancel of the parish church of Clifton-upon-Teme, in the border of Worcestershire. But her memory is still revered by those to whom her existence and character are known; and it will probably be received, as it is announced, with pleasure, that the gentleman from whose kindness permission was obtained to examine and describe this curious diary, is about to place a brass tablet near the spot where she is believed to have been interred, with an inscription transmitting the name and virtues of Mrs. Joyce Jefferies to future times.

XVI. *Unpublished Letters from the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. to Sir Edward Nicholas. In a Letter from JOHN EVANS, Esq., F.S.A., to J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq., Secretary.*

Read 15th and 22nd January, 1857.

Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted, Dec. 15th, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE great pleasure in sending you for communication to the Society of Antiquaries copies of a series of letters written by the Queen of Bohemia, the daughter of James I., which are I believe unpublished, and which, like all the letters of that unfortunate princess, will be found of some interest. They are all addressed to Sir Edward Nicholas, who, as you are well aware, was Secretary of State to both the Charleses. The letters which passed between the Queen and Sir Edward, from August 1654 to January 1655, fifteen in number, have already been published in the Appendix to Evelyn's Diary, edited by the late Mr. Bray; and the twenty-five I now send you may be regarded as a continuation of the same correspondence, embracing as they do the period from April 1655 to January 1656.

Though throwing some little light upon historical points, their principal interest consists in their being so true a reflex of the lively gossiping character of the Queen, which through all her misfortunes appears to have remained unchanged—her enjoyment of a hunting party, a copy of verses, or a famous mask danced by the gallants of the court, having been as great in 1655 as it was some forty or more years before, when, full of youth and hope, she had been the presiding goddess of the costly festivals at Heidelberg, in honour of her arrival in the Palatinate.

The terms on which she stood with the royal exiles at Cologne, her son the Elector, Prince Rupert, and other members of her family, are exhibited in these letters, together with notices of the political reports at that time current at the Hague, and other matters of passing gossip. I must however leave them to speak for themselves.

I might, perhaps, express a regret at the meagreness of the notes, with which I have thought it advisable to illustrate the letters, but that I know that those who may consult them for historical purposes will stand in need of no elucidations such

as I could give, while those who merely read them as studies of the character of Elizabeth, or as specimens of what were a Queen's letters two centuries ago, will require no further explanations than the letters themselves afford.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very truly,

J. Y. AKERMAN, Esq.

JOHN EVANS.

Sec. Soc. Ant., &c. &c. &c.

I.

Letter endorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas, " $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁶/₈ April 1655. Rec^d $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁸/₈, Queene of Bohemia, that I have good luck in my children."

Hagh, April 26.

M^r Secretarie, I receaved from you the good news of the King's safe returne to Colein so late upon Thursday as I had not then time to thanke you as I doe now; for indeed it is verie good news; for as long as God preserve him I hope he will yett have another fling for it, for as you say in your last I ame not at all out of hope, and if he be sett into his as you wish, it will be best, but how soever or by whome, so it be well done, I shall be satisfied. I ame verie glade my cosen of Brunswick escaped so well, but sorie he had not the hapiness to see the King, which I finde by your letter he mist but a day. The King has lost a verie faithfull servant of the good Duke of Richmond. I heard of his death by the post, and ame veri sorie for it. What I doe to your daughter is not what I woulde, but what I can; for indeed she desERVE all I can doe, and much more. She is now quite recouered and abroad againe. There is heere little news. The peace betwixt France and Cromwell is much talked of heere; but I hope the Marquis de Leide, Ambass^re from the King of Spaine, will hinder it. They say he goes this next week, verie well accompanied, and it is reported that both the Queene of Sueden and the Prince of Condé sends with him to Cromwell; but I cannot assure you of the truth of it. Queen Mother of Sueden is dead,^a her daughter seemes much troubled at it, which makes her rap out with manie an oth. I dout not but you will heare all from S^r Henry de Vic. Thom. Eliot and your sonne Talbot will be with you by this time, I beleeve. I finde your sonne a verie honnest man. I see you have god luck in your children, which I wish you in all things else, being ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I send you a letter for the King.

^a The enmity that at this time existed between Elizabeth and Christina of Sweden is well known.

II.

Letter endorsed "3^o May, 1655. R. 6^o, Queene of Bohemia." Addressed, "For M^r Secretarie," and tied up with black silk, with two seals in black wax, impressed with her Majesty's arms, or rather those of her deceased husband.

Hagh, May 3.

M^r Secretarie, I have receaved yours of the 2^o, and by the Thursday's post I had the hapiness to have one from the King in M^r Chancelour's pacquet, who is now heere, and will be with you shortlie, with my sweet Nephue,^a the States of Hollande having taken a resolution to desire his absence, and this day it was to have bene signified to his sister; but I beleeeve it will be prevented, because my Neece has a letter from the King, who desires to have him come to him; but I beleeeve he had not gone so soone if the States had not taken theire resolution, which is not come from Cromwell, but theire owne clawing with him. The offence they tooke against my Nephue was because, as he went out to take the aire on horsback, he tooke horse within the court at the staires, which I have seene manie a page and lacquay doe; but they woulde take anie occasion to shew theire zeale to the divell. I confess I ame verie much out of charitie with him for making us all loose my deare Nephue's companie. I knew no more of Rupert's ingagement with the Duke of Modena then you did untill Thursday last, that he writt it to my Lo: Craven to tell it me; neither doe I know the conditions. I beleeeve he has accepted of that imployment not to live idlie, since the King is not pleased to imploye him, whose service I ame sure hee hath still a verie constant affection for, above all others, which all his letters to me protest; but that not being, he must doe something, and not sitt idlie at home, being confident he will always be readie to serve the King whensoever he shall command him. There be commissioners come from the rebels hither to settle the trade, and it (is) reported that there shall shortlie come an Ambassadour hither from Cromwell. Some write hither from France that the treatie with them is not so sure as manie think. I pray remember me to your sonne Talbot, and beleeeve me ever

Your most affectionat frend,



Dan. Oneal is safly arrived heere: he assueres poor Nick^b is safe. His man is come over.

^a Afterwards William III.

^b Nicholas Armourer.

III.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{4}{14}^o$ Junii 1655. R. $\frac{7}{17}$. Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, June 14.

M^r Secretarie, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are ridd of your paine ; I easilie beleeve the sad condition of the affaires doth add not a little to your paine. What you heare from Germanie about the aversness for a King of the Romans I have not heard, but wish it so ; but if those Princes and tounes have not some of the Electours of theire opinion it will doe litle good. They write in my letters from Berlin the King of Sueden has given the Electour of Brandebourg great assurance of his affection, and of having no desein to hurt him. The last letters Bourdeaux writt to this French Ambassadour was that his next letter shoulde be dated from Paris, being going away because Cromwell will signe no treatie with his Brother of France till he have satisfaction for the massacre the Duke of Savoye has made of his protestant subjects. How the King of France shoulde give satisfaction for it I know not, except it be by hanging the Count de Quinsey, who helped to that horride action with his forces. There is heere little news, but the States are in great allarme of the King of Sueden arming, and will send troupes to their frontiers to secure them ; some tolde me that Beverwest shoulde command them. They are an hundred and fiftie companies. Brederode is falling into a dropsie, and, I beleeve, will not live long, which I wish heartilie you may till you see your excellent Master upon his throne, and till then be ridd of your gout. This I wish as being ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I beleeve you will have Midleton verie speedilie at Coloogne.

IV.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{11}{11}$ Junii, 1655. R^d $\frac{14}{24}$. Qu: of Bohem."

M^r Secretarie, there is news come from Roterdame of a letter come thither that Cromwell and his counsell have assembled the lawyers to have his charge of protectour settled upon him and his posteritie ; Wedensday wee shall know the truth of this ; but if it be, sure I beleeve he will change his title, for an hereditarie protectour is a Bull. They are still heere in feare of Sueden, which the Baron Spar wonders at, protesting his Master doth (not) think of anie such thing. I beleeve you will see my lo: of Rochester before this letter, for he was at Bruxelles the last

week. I ame verie glad that worthie liftenant General^a is safe at Munster; I beleeve he will be by this time with you. I pray assure him still that I ame extremelie his Frend. My deare Neece is gone to Foundre Merdike; you then may easilie guess how I pass my time once a weeke. I shall wish myself with you and my sweet Nephue a shooting. I hope it will recover your legg againe. I have almost forgot to tell you a pretious peece of news which came hither in written hande the last post from Paris, that the French King was to marry with Cromwell's daughter to make the league the firmer with England; it is taken heere for a kinde of Libell, which the French heere are verie angric at. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I send you a letter for my sweet Nephue and for my Lo: Wentworth.

Hagh, June 21.

V.

Letter endorsed “ $\frac{18}{8}$ Junii, 1655. R. 1^o July. Qu. Bohem.”

M^r Secretarie, I ame verie glade my lo: of Rochester is so well gott to you, for I beleeve his prettie bulke had much a doe to hide itself in a mouse hole; it is heere verie confidentlie reported that Cromwell has assembled all the Lawyrs and judges to take to himself the legislative power, and so change his title; the French Ambassadour thinks it will be Emperour, because the Kings heeretofore did not take themselves that power, he will have the iudges declare his power and not the army, and then he may give his daughter to his Brother of France; tis pittie that none of his sonnes are unmarried that he might have his Brother of Spaines daughter for him. Hanibal Seistad,^b the late vice-Roy of Norway, is heere; he professeth verie much himself the King's servant; he meanes to be with you shortlie at Collein; he has bene in England and verie civili^q used by Cromwell, but for all that he protests he hates hime. I had a verie civile letter from Prince Adolf,^c who tells of the King's Brother's hastie sending for him, and that he hopes to be sudainlie back to make an end of his mariage, excusing himself that he did not come this way by reason of his great hast. I saw yesterday little Madselle Ruperda married in the French church; she was a verie handsome bride.

^a Middleton.

^b See Whitelock, p. 608.

^c Prince Adolphus, brother of the King of Sweden, who had proposed for the Princess Sophia in October previous. (See Evelyn, vol. iv. p. 213.) It does not appear why this match was broken off. Sophia married into the House of Brunswick in 1658.

Brederode is gone to Arnem to be neere the troupes that are at the frontiers. Nick Armorer, I beleeeve you have alreadie heard, is safe here. It is so hott I can say no more. I will know of Sir Charles Cottrell if there be anie bows here to fitt the King and Marquiss of Ormond. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I pray tell your worthie sonne Lifenant-general Middleton that I ame verie glade to heare he is safe come to his master, and assure him there is no bodie more his frend then I ame.

Hagh, June 28.

VI.

Letter endorsed "5^o July, 1655. R. 8^o. Qu. Bohemia, that there comes an Army of Presbiterians with the lo: Balcarris: that she never yet knew any of that party suffer meerey for his loyalty."

Mr Secretarie, I have yours of the 2 of this month. I am sure you heare of more Lords and gentlemen, they say 500, that are prisoners. The French Ambassadour tolde me the last night the treatie was at a stande: he beleeeve he will take the title of Emperour since the Kings have tied themselves to keep the laws. You will have with you a whole armie of presbiteriens with my lo: Belcaris; sure they will make great offers, beleeeve them who will; you know my minde; yett I have not knowen anie of that party suffer for the King, I meane meerelie for theire loyaltie. This place is verie barren of news, onelie a duel had like to have bene betwixt Sir Will. Keith and Mr. Binnion for iust nothing at play; they were gone as farr as Breda, and by good fortune were stopped there and made frends. I ame confident you have heard alreadie of a riche ladie Stanlie that did cheat poore Collonel Philips and wife of 200 pound, and had cheated more if Mrs. Mohun had not discovered her; when she was at Antwerp she knew her; her name is Skinner, and take away the k out of her name, you will finde her trade. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



Hagh, Julie.

I pray tell the right reverent Dick Harding it is so hott, as I cannot write to him till the next week.

VII.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{2}{12}$ ° July, 1655. R. $\frac{5}{13}$. The Queene hath given order for And. Cogans bow, and all that she can find to send." Addressed "For M^r Secretarie," and tied up with black silk, with two black seals of her Majesty's arms.

M^r Secretarie, de Bie the Polish resident is returned from England. He beleeves that Cromwell will verie speedilie change his title. I ame sure you heare how he hath putt my lo: of Hartford, and manie more, in prison. The French treatie is yett at a stand. This Ambassadour sayth that Bourdeaux has order to returne this week if the treatie be not ended. There is no certaintie heere of Pen's fleet. It is written out of France that all the English marchands at Constantinople have had their throats cutt, and their goods seased upon by the great Turk: if it be true, I hope the good people will thanke his pretious highness for it. I have given S^r Charles Cottrell order to send you all the bows he can get. S^r Andrew Coghin's bow is not yett to be found, but it shall be verie narowlie sought for. I beleeve my little gentleman the Duke of Glocester is the distruction of most of your arrows. By then this come to you you will have my Lo: Belcaris and his ladie; they passed by Breda, but came not heere. My Lo: Culpeper is yet heere, but will spedilie goe. He was the other day a little high flowen, and in his oulde humour you know him at that time subiect to be in, which made him fall upon Mons^r Seistat; but all is now well again. Gerbier^a is heere, and all his familie. He is pressed much to cleere himself of the imputation of that base booke. I wish he may; in charitie I say it. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



Hagh,¹Julie 12.

VIII.

Letter endorsed "2° Aug. 1655. R. 5, Qu. Bohemia."

Hagh, August 2.

M^r Secretarie, before I say anie thing else to you, I will tell you that your wife came the last night saffie to the Brill. I hope she will be heere to-morrow. D^r Earle's wife is with her. I pray tell him so from me. To-morrow I hope you

^a Sir Balth. Gerbier.

will have my deare Neece with you, and your daughter, and shortlie you will see Dicke Darcie. He goeth this day hence; so doth to-morrow Nick Armorer, and the reverent Albert Morton, who is much more growen in breadth then height. Robin Sidney, Watt Vaine, and Robin Honywood and his sonne, are all here. Yong Rob: Honywood is a verie prettie youth, and not presise, like his Uncle Harry. He is verie like Watt, but better. There is heere no news, onelie I ame putt in hope the States will doe some thing for me this week. If they doe you shall heare of it. It is extreme hott heere, and, which is strange, the plague doth not increase; but it is extremelie at Leiden. The last week there died six hundred; everie bodie quitts the toun. I ame glade my sonne has at the last done a little civilitie to the King, though it be but a small one. I pray the wine may proove better then what he sends me. The two last times he sent me wine that was stark naught. His cheef favorit Hoer is heere. I know not whether or not he will honnour the King with a visit at his returne to his master. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

I write not now to the King, because my Lo: Taff's a going, who shall have my letters. Tell my cosen of Amsterdam, sonne and nephue, that I expect his raper from raperhall. I sent, under your cover, a letter to him upon Thursday last; within it an epistle to my Nephue the Duke of Glocester. Tell Dick Harding the next week I will pay him the letter I owe him. Those that come now out of England beleeve that Cromwell will not change his title for feare of the army, who will not consent he shoulde doe it.

IX.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{13}{23}$ Aug. 1655. R. $\frac{16}{26}$, Queen Bohemia."

Hagh, Aug. 23.

Mr Secretarie, I ame extreame glad to finde from yourself that you are so well recovered, and that honnest D^r Fraiser has bene so carefull of you, though it is but his custome, especialie to his frends. All the news that I can tell you is, that the last week the Spanish Ambassadour did drink to S^r Ro: Stone the King's health, and to the prosperitie of his hapie restablishment in his kingdome, which Stone pledged, telling him he wondred at the health since his master was the first that acknowledged the parliament. He answered it was true, but he had soundlie payed for it. I wish they would seek a good revenge. I heare no talking of

the treatie with France. I wish the Pope may make a good peace betwix the two kings. Though what the states have given me be but a thousand guilders a month, yet I hope it is good signe that they have yett some kindness for my house, and one day may shew it. All goes so ill up hill, as my Lo: Norwich calls it, as I have no reason to wish myself there. Your wife is verie well; and, though she be no great courtier, I finde her a verie good woman. She is still in cuerpo. Her goods are not yett come, though M^{ris} Coale is; you will have her with you and D^r Morley the next week, which (is) all I have time to say now to you; but that I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Tell reverent Dick Harding he shall heare from me the next post.

X.

Letter endorsed "30^o Aug. 1655. R. 2^o 7^{bris}; Qu: Bo:"

Mr Secretarie, I wish your news may prove truer, that Cardenas^a is leaving England, then mine. They tell me heere that there is an extraordinarie Ambassadour to goe from Spaine thither. The Duke of Mantua is now at Paris. He is lodged with Ned^b and his wife, who is his Aunt, in the Hostel de Longueville. Ned commends him to be a verie fine gentleman, a great deal of witt. It is not yett certaine the selling of Casal. There is heere no other news then what you see in the prints. The plague is still newsd at Leiden and at Amsterdam, and almost everie where heeare about, but less heere then aniewhere. When my Cosen of Amsterdame returnes, I pray tell him I heare he has made an excellent copie of verses upon Mam nurses windie misfortune. I hope he will lett me have them, with an adition of the Countess, his repudiated wife's, perfuming of the fore part of her gounes; at least, I hope my sober Nephue will not faill to enquire after it. I woulde be loth to eate no more then he takes with his hawkes. I ame sure you heare by this time that Rupert's treatie^c and the Duke of Modena's is quite broken off. He had no minde to be deceaved, or ill used. Opdam was sent for from

^a The Spanish Ambassador.

^b Edward, the Queen's fourth son, who had adopted the Roman Catholic religion and married the Princess of Nevers, daughter of the Duke of Mantua.

^c See Bromley's Royal Letters, p. 196, &c.

Spa to go to sea with a fleet towards the Sound. He is come, and the ships are making readie. It may chance make a breach betwixt these and Sueden, who prospers well in Poland on one side, and the Moscovits play the divel on the other side. I cannot but pittie the poore king of Polande, which is all I can doe, for I must not be for him in words more then for Sueden, you know. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Aug. 30.



Tell Dick Harding the next post he shall heere from me.

XI.

Letter endorsed "6^o 7^{bris}, 1655. R. 9^o. Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, Sept^r 6^o.

Mr Secretarie, just now your wife has bene with me to take her leave of me to goe towards you. I have seene the printed petition; it is a most base one, and against my deare Brother of blessed memorie. I cannot imagine what aileth the Dons to suffer themselves to be so used by him. I woulde either they or France woulde break with him. I confess it were rather France then Spaine, since my deare Godsonne is amongst them. I pray lett me know if he be there as voluntorie, or as he was the last yeare. The King of Sueden^a doth still prosper. He treats with the Electour of Brandebourg.^b He makes small demandes, onelie his cheef ports, the Pilo, and another whose name I have forgott, and to change some articles in his treatie with the States, which he findes prejuditiable to him. What the Electour will answere I know not, but his frends heere think he cannot well with his honnour graunt these demandes. The Princess of Orenge is to sett out this week or the next towards us heere, where the Princess of Nassau comes to lye in. Brederode's death will make manie competitours for his charges; my next will tell you more of that, for but yesterday came the news of his death. I ame glade my sweet Nephue has so good fortune of hawking, but all that shall not make me yealde but that hunting is worth a million of it. Thus you see I ame constant in my inclination, and so will be in being ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I pray commend me to Dr. Morley.

^a Charles Gustavus.

^b George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

XII.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{3}{13}$ 7^{bris}, 1655. R. $\frac{6}{16}$. Qu: Bo:"

Mr Secretarie, I feare your beleef will prove true of this people, for they are not yet agreed about the Mareschall's place. My next shall tell you more, onelie Hollande will have none, but the generalitie will have one. P. Maurice is heere; P. Will: is not yett come. I wish it either of them, for they are both verie much the King's servants; the first I named, I assure you, as much as anie. Pen's fleet is returned in an ill case; all is true you have heard of his losses; besides, he can tell how good horse flesh is, for they have eaten it, being forced at Jamaica, the people there having caried away all the provisions: else there is heere little news. They talke of Opdam's going out of a fleet, but I beleeve it will [be] too late in the yeare before it goe out, for there is yett nothing readie for it. My next I beleeve may tell you more, for it is written to me that the King of Poland^a has an armie of 60,000 men. If it be true, the King of Sueden will not gett Poland so soone. I ame sure you heare that the Vaudois have made theire peace with the Duke of Savoye before Cromwell's deputie did come to them. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



Hagh, Sep. $\frac{15}{3}$.

XIII.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{1}{11}$ 8^{bris}, 1655. R. $\frac{4}{14}$. Queene of Bohemia. That the States of Holland have voted for Mons^r Nordick to be Governor of the Basse."

Mr Secretarie, I beleeve before this you will heare before this of the certaintie [of the] king of Sueden's victorie against the king of Poland, who it is saide heere is fledd into Silesia. I pittie the poore king of Poland; all my comfort is that the King of Sueden may as well and much more iustlie breake with Cromwell as he has done with Poland. There is heere little newes, onelie our States are not at all pleased with the Suedes victorie. They are iustlie punished for assisting the Queene of Sueden against my Uncle. There is yett nothing knowen who shall be Mareschal heere. As for the gouvernement of the Bass, those of Hollande have given theire voices for Nordwic, where you may see he doth not suffer much for his being for the house of Nassau. I doe not write all, but this is under the rose. The States General have not yett saide whom they will chuse. His highness of

^a John Casimir.

Tarente is going this weeke into France. His ladie follows in the spring. I will not write to the King till Thursday because I will be first sure he is with you, that my letters be not too stale. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Oct. 11.



XIV.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{8}{18}$ 8^{bris}, 1655. R. $\frac{11}{1}$. The Queene of Bohemia. That she is much troubled that her sonne the El^r carryed himself soe very unhansomly towards the K."

Mr Secretarie, I ame verie glade that all your court is so well returned to you, and so well pleased with their journey. I was sure the Electour of Ments woulde miss to doe all possible civilitie to the King. As for Rupert, he did but his dutie, and it doth comfort me extremelie to finde how well both my Neece^a and the king did accept it. I ame sure no bodie can have more true zeale and affection for their service then he hath. But I ame vexed to some tune to know how unhandsomlie my sonne the Electour has caried him. You cannot imagine how it angers me to see that he that shoulde be the most kinde and civill shoulde be the least to the King. I hope now you will not blame me for not desiring to live with him. I coulde tell you more, but I will not out of charitie, because he is my sonne. The Princesse of Orenge is to be heere this night or to morrow. The Prince of Tarente away yesterday towards France. Wee have nothing of the Suedes since their late victorie, which our States doe not at all rejoice at. There is yett nothing done to the clerk. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, Oct. 18.



I pray remember me to your wife and your sonne Talbot. Your daughter had had some presents from my daughter if she had gone to Heidleberg. I ame sure they are realie sorie they saw not the King and their cosens there. I pray [say] to your daughter I have not time to write to her, but upon Thursday she shall have an epistle.

^a Mary Princess of Orange.

XV.

Letter endorsed "2° No^{bris} St. No. 1655. R. 7°. The Queene of Bohemia."

Hagh, No: 2.

Mr Secretarie, the visit of the Princesse of Nassau and others caused the brevitie of my last letter. This will come to your handes without anie other, for Chogneats^a going to morrow and S^r Charles Cottrell taking the same journey at the end of this week, I write by them both to the King and my Neece. You will finde by your letter that the packet boat is not stoped. Benat the French captaine of horse passed by Dunkerk upon Friday was sevenight, and then the Spanish Ambassadour's goods were come in a little boat, but they were afrayed that the Ambassadour was seized upon by Cromwell. After tomorrow we shall know the truth. The Landgrave's death is but too true. He was verie unfortunatlie killed as he went unadvisedlie to a toun that he thought was in the Suedens handes. They suffered him to come close to the bridge and then shott him dead. He was so farr advanced before his people as they had time to save themselves, so as none was killed but he. The Princess of Orenge is now heere. She lookes well, and [her] daughters are growen. The clerk and the sollicitour that were in prison are both banished, the clerk for ever, and the other for ten yeares. The Countess is not yett come. My deare Neece putts me in hope I shall see her within three weekes. I am extreme glade our honnest D^r has done her so much good with his phisick. I pray beleve me ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XVI.

Letter endorsed "8° No^{bris}, 1655. R. 11°. The Queene of Boheme."

Hagh, Nov^r 8.

Mr Secretarie, I have receaved noe letters from you this week, it may be S^r Charles Cottrells being gone they are sent after him. I did not think to have written this week, but the resident of Sueden having bene with me yesterday, and tolde me by his king's commande what I now send you in writing, which he sent me this morning, I send it to you that the King may see it. I finde that though the French are more for Sueden then Poland, yett they are not glade of the King of Poland's utter ruine. Mr Lovell will tell you what he heares in England. He

^a There is some doubt as to the correct reading of this name.

went from hence upon Saterdag, with S^r Charles Cottrell. The Spanish Ambassadour has Cromwell's pass to be gone, but till he be at Dunkerke I shall still feare the Spanish bravadoes. It is reported heere, the Electour of Brandebourg has sent one to Cromwell. I hope it is not true, but if it be I shrewdlie guess who has counselled it: I am sure not the Count of Waldec. By my next I hope I shall know the truth to write it to you. Cracovie has five townes, whereof Casimir is one. They are all in one wall. I tell you this that you may the better understand the paper. I am ever

Your most affectionat frend,

XVII.

Letter endorsed "⁵/₁₃ No^{bris}, 1655. R. ⁸/₁₈. The Queene concerning the quarell between M^r Stone and La Mer." Addressed "For M^r Secretarie," tied with black silk, and with two black seals, as before.

Hagh, No. 15.

M^r Secretarie, I was much surprised at your news of the wedding; and if your letter had not come too late, I had upon Thursday desired you to chide M^{rs} Ramer and S^r Allexander, that they could not stay till they came hither, that I might have bene at their wedding; but now I hope to doe it myself, since my deare Neece writes to me she will be heere upon Saturday or Sunday next. You may be sure she will be welcome. The Suedens victories continue. Cracovie is certainlie yealded, and the Cossaks come in to the King of Sueden. It is reported that Cromwell will not give a passport to the Spanish Ambassadour in England, not as an Ambassadour, but onelie as a privat man. What he meanes by it I know not; yett I shall not be confident of their falling out till I heare the Ambassadour is at Dunkerke. I beleeve S^r Charles Cottrell is now by this time with you, since he went the verie next day. There is fallen out a scurvie quarrell betwixt Stone and La Mere, by Grenville's most indiscreet action, where she has done herself a great deal of wrong, and indangered two men's lives. S^r Charles Cottrell can tell the cause of the quarrell—about a letter La Mere should have written to Grenville's prejudice, she being tolde it at least 7 or 8 weeks ago, as she has by her speeches tolde to others; now she bethought herself to question La Mere, which, if she had done it herself, by any woman, or D^r Morley, there had bene no business made of it; but imploying of Stone it coulde come to no other but a quarrell, where Stone did carie himself not verie discreetlie, affronting La Mere in the street going of the Church, contrarie to his worde to me and

D^r Morley, that he woulde not medle with that business, so as I got him to be arrested; but he did get out by the negligence of the soldiers the last night, and for ought I know may by this time be with La Mere, who went away at the instant that he was affronted, and so has kept himself away. If anie of them come to mischief I ame free, for I did all I coulde to hinder it; but it will lye heavilie upon that unworthie bodie, whosever it was, that tolde such a thing to Grenville, and upon her who sett on the business upon Stone. I write this to you, because I beleeve it will be made an odd storie at Collein, and innocent people unjustlie accused; but this I onelie say to your self. I ame verie glade that my Neece assures me I shall see her the next weeke, or at the end of this. Some speech is heere, as if her deare frends woulde bring her into a new process; but I hope it is not true, who ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XVIII.

Letter endorsed “ $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ No^{bris}, 1655. R. $\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Qu: Boheme, That my sonne may write a copy of D^r Morley’s.”

Hagh, Nov^r 22.

Mr Secretarie, I have such an extreme colde, my nose and eyes running like a fountaine, as I cannot say aniething to you, onelie to tell you that I dide desire D^r Morley to let me have his two sermons he sent to the King. He saith there is but that copie of them which he sent by S^r Charles Cottrell, where I intreat you that when your sonn has copied them out for the King, he will take the paines to copie them out also for me, and send them to me when you restore the originall. I have seene Cromwell’s declaration against Spaine. It is a verie weake one. I hope Spaine will be so wise as to mend that fault these people heere committed, and take the King’s quarrell in hande. Hodancourt has not desired the King of Spaine’s protection, but will have money of his own king for his gouvernement, as the last French letters say. The P. of Condé offered himself to him, but he has refused him. I ame verie sorie your goute beginns seaze you. I wish you well ridde of it, who ame

Your most affectionat frend,



Ny Neece will be heere this night. I pray tell S^r Charles Cottrell I have the colde so extremelie as I cannot write to him till Thursday.

XIX.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{8}{8}$ No^{bris}, 1655. R. 2° Dec. Queene to me."

Hagh, No. 28.

Mr Secretarie, I ame verie glade your goute is departing. My colde is gone also, but before it left me I was verie angrie at it, for when my deare Neece came hither I could not goe to her for my colde, nor she to me for her weariness, but yett we mett at last. I finde her verie leane and paile, which troubles me verie much; but [if] she will exercise enough, she will be soone well. After I had my first childe I was just so, but I rumbled it away with riding a hunting. I tell her of it, but she is deadlie lasie. I doe wish with all my heart the Dons would be wise, and not goe on their slow slow pace, but make hast to take your incomparable master by the hande. There is no news heere, onelie that Mons^r Chanut is gone for France. I know not yett who comes in his place, which is all I write now to you, from

Your most affectionat frend,



XX.

Letter endorsed, "6° Dec^r. st. No. 1655. R. 9°. Queene Bohem."

Mr Secretarie, my dearest Neece beginns, God be thanked, to mend in her looks and health since she saws billetts everie morning. This week wee are to see a famous maske danced by our gallants of the Hagh, French and Dutch; and yesterday the Princess of Nassaw was brought to bed of a daughter. This is all the news heere, onelie Hoquincourt has receaved none into Peromne, but that the French King is there, he having made his agreement; but you will knowe it as soone as I, who has had it from my deare Godsonn's letter to me from Paris, not knowing yett what he shall doe, the articles of the treatie not being yet published or known. The King of Sueden is gone from Warsovie towards Torne, in the Royal Prusse, where the Electour of Brandebourg is with his troupe, yett it is hoped the King and the Electour may agree.

Wee have stayed La Mere, he was catched at Dort; I hope you will doe so to Stone, for they say he is at Colleyn, so as they may be agreed. I ame verie glade your paine is gone, and that honnest Dr. Fraiser is so well recovered. I pray tell him so from

Your most affectionat frend,

Hagh, De. 6.



XXI.

Letter endorsed, “ $\frac{5}{13}$ Decr. 1655. R. $\frac{9}{19}$. Queene Bohemia.”

Hagh, Decr. 13.

Mr Secretarie,^a I ame extreme glade that the King is so hapie as to discover one rogue. I pray God he may discover the rest, for without dout that villain has companions. Cromwell sure has more spies than one upon the King. It must needs be he that did betray the last business, for I heare that some of the King's party did trust him, and sent him out of England. There was few but might have bene deceaved by him. I have seene him twice heere, but had little talke with him; he desarves verie justlie to be hanged. There is no news heere. I long to have the Dons doe something, but they (are) cruell slow in their deliberations. I wish with all my heart Cromwell may continue his desseins against the Indies, to waken the gravitie of the Dons' pace, and make them goe faster. The English marchands desired a convoe from Amsterdam for going into England, because of the Spaniards, but were refused, it being against their peace with Spaine to give convoys to fight against them. It is extreme colde this day, it both freezes and snows. The best news I can tell you is of my deare Neece continues to mende dailie in her lookes. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I ame glade the King will commande to send Stone, for then I hope it will be well ended betwixt La Mere and him. The honnest Captaine is most furiously threatened by some that are no wiser then they shoulde be; but you know the proverb, threatened people live long.

XXII.

Letter endorsed, “3^o Jan. 165 $\frac{5}{6}$. R. 6^o n.s. Que. Bohemia.”

Hagh, Jan. 3.

Mr Secretarie, I wish the match betwixt Mancini and Cromwell's daughter may goe forward; for one thing, the alliance betwixt them is verie fitt and equall. Yesterday Somerdik's eldest daughter was married to Weaver's eldest brother, who was killed heere a yeare agoe by an English Cap. that came from Brasil, Sr Cha: Cottrell knows who he is. Stone and La Mere are at last frends, and he waits againe. My dearest Neece setts forward towards Paris Thursday come sevenight,

^a This letter refers to the execution of Manning, a servant of Sir Edward Hyde's, who, Whitelock says, was shot as a spy.—(See Whitelock, p. 618.) The letter published in Evelyn's Diary under the date December 27, 1654, is of December 27, 1655, as it refers to Manning, who, it appears, was assassinated and not judicially executed. The subsequent letter of January 10 is also to be referred to this year 165 $\frac{5}{6}$.

which is almost all the newes heere, onelie the Hollanders in the Indies have beaten the Swedens out of Nova Suetia. How their king will take it God knows. They are now sending their Ambassadors to him; he has had Elbing deliverid to him, and Dansik is a treating. He is going himself with his army to Kunisberg, where the Electour of Brandebourg and his ladie and all his army are. I feare it will goe hard with him, if he doe not agree, and one of the conditions will be that he must quitt his alliance with the States. He has an envoye with Cromwell, although the Princess of Orenge woulde not confess it; and at his audience, complaining of the King of Sueden's taking all the countries out of his ambition, Cromwell answered he much wondered why men did take so much paines to reigne. Good man! he tooke no paines for it, nor has no ambition. There never was so great an hypocrit. I wish him as ill a new yeare as, I thank you, you wish me a good. I pray God it may be more hapie to us all then the former has bene. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



XXIII.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{7}{17}$ Jan. 165 $\frac{1}{2}$. R. $\frac{10}{20}$. Que. Bohemia."

Mr Secretarie, though I have little news to write yett I will onelie tell you that my dear Neece is gone this morning, and has verie good weather. I pray God send her a good journey and speedilie to returne, for this place is verie dull without her. The King of Sueden lyes close to Kunisberg with his armie, and has sent into the toune to the Electour the Chancelour Oxenstern to treat with him, so as it is hoped he will make a peace betwixt them. Dr Fraiser came hither upon Wedensday night, and is gone with my deare Neece this morning. The States heere woulde have persuaded the Electour of Brandebourg to have lett them have had the keeping of the Pilo; but he has denied it. My Neece and the Princesse douager are parted verie good frends. I ame sure you know that Heinfleit and his Ladie stayed behinde. The match betwixt the Prince of Ost Frise and Madamoiselle de Orenge is broken with both their consents. They have always had an aversion one for the other. I ame alway

Your most affectionat frend,



XXIV.

Letter endorsed " $\frac{1}{2}$ Jan. 165 $\frac{5}{6}$. R. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{5}{3}$. Queene Boheme. That Dr Morley leaves her—desires the King not to recommend any one to her." Addressed, "For Mr Secretarie," and sealed as before.

Hagh, Jan. 20.

Mr Secretarie, my last being the day that my dearest Neece went from hence I had not much time to say much to you, which made me forgett a maine business I meant to advertis you off, which is that Dr Morley has desired me to give him leave to retire, protesting it is for no kinde of discontente but onelie to be free to himself, finding his age beginns to weaken him, and that he always loved his libertie and onelie for my sake he came hither, and seemes to be verie well satisfied with his usage heere, which trulie was less then I wished, but I did it according as I coulde, as I tolde him, though it was not so much as I desired. I ame verie sorie he goes away, for I esteeme him verie much, and have perswaded him all I can to stay, but he still persists in it; wherefore, in the condition I ame in, I ame resolved to take no other Chaplaine but Mr Beaumont, who will say prayers to me, and when there shall be a communion Dr Morley has promissed me to come when I shall desire him, or if as I hope I shall goe to Rheims he will come to me; all which I pray acquaint the King with, that, if anie shoulde speake to him to recommend a Chaplaine to me, I beseech him not to doe it, being alreadie thus ingaged to Mr Beaumont. There is little news heere; it is reported but not certaine that the king of Polande marches with a great armie of Cossaks and Tartars against the king of Sueden, who is yett neere Kunisberg. The Chancelour Oxenstern is in the toune still treating, but it is beleevd heere there will be no agreement. I ame ever

Your most affectionat frend,



My dearest Neece and the Princesse dowager and P. Williame are parted verie good frends.

XXV.

Letter endorsed "24^o Jan. 165 $\frac{5}{6}$. R. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{7}{3}$. Queene Bohem."

Hagh, Jan. 24.

Mr Secretarie, I have receaved yours, and finde your news at Colein, concerning Sueden and the Electour of Brandebourg, doth not agree with the news heere, for

the Elect. is still at Kunisberg, and the Chanceler Oxenstern is yett treating there with him, and their horse doe skermish everie (day) together. I feare the good Electour will have the worst, and the States socours will come to late, for till the spring they cannot be readie. The Tartars will doe more hurt to Poland then good, for they never doe nothing but pillage frend and foe all alike. My Neece has passed Gorcum verie well; the rivers were verie well passed. This night or Wedensday we shall heare more of her. Within your letter I receaved one from the King, to recommend Dr Wishard to me in Dr Morley's place; but that letter I writt to you by the last post I hope will satisfie his Ma^{tie}, being alreadie ingaged to Mr. Beaumont. There is no great news heere, where for a week the weather has bene verie good, cleere, and frostie, but not extreme colde. My deare Neece has verie good weather; my Godsonne is by this time at Peronne to meet her. I am ever

Your most affectionat frend,



I beleeve Rupert is by this time at Heidleberg, but I heare not that he is yett ingaged at Vienna. I wish he may ingage nowhere, but where he may best serve the King.

XVII. *Remarks on some early Churches in France and Switzerland, partly of the time of Charlemagne. Communicated by J. H. PARKER, Esq., F.S.A.; in a Letter addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl STANHOPE, President.*

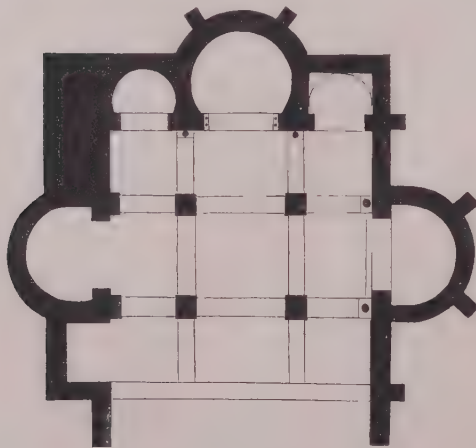
Read 12th June, 1856.

MY LORD,

IN the series of letters I have hitherto had the honour of addressing to your Lordship, and of reading before this Society, I have confined myself to the topographical arrangement, merely following the order of my own actual tours in the English provinces of France, which were originally undertaken with a view of ascertaining whether there was any English character in the architecture of these provinces, or any marked connection between them and the architecture of England of the same period. I purposely omitted Normandy, as having been previously well described by Mr. Gally Knight and others, although that province is more familiar to me than any other part of France, and I have notes of many buildings there of which, to the best of my knowledge, no accounts have been published; but, as I fear that mere topographical descriptions of buildings are always rather dry and uninteresting, I propose on the present occasion to give some account of certain very early churches in different parts of France and Switzerland, which I have selected on account of their peculiarity, without reference to their topographical situation.

GERMIGNY.

I will commence with the very remarkable little church of Germigny-sur-Loire, which I believe to be one of the churches built by Charlemagne, who is said to have imported Greek architects and workmen from Byzantium for the purpose of building churches, and instructing his people in the arts of building, and of masonry and stone-cutting. Additional



PLAN OF THE OLD PART, GERMIGNY, A.D. 805.

interest is given to this church by the preservation of an original inscription on the capitals of two of the pillars, recording its dedication in the year 806, of which I have obtained a rubbing. The church was evidently built entirely in the Greek



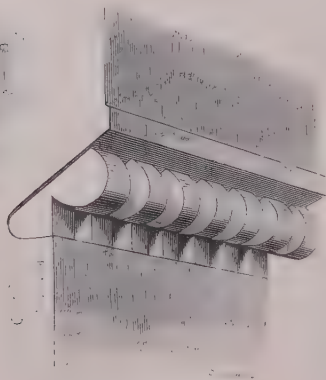
INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF GERMIGNY, A.D. 806.

type, cruciform, with four equal arms, and a central tower. The nave has been rebuilt and elongated at a comparatively recent period; the other three arms of the cross remain, square in plan, with an apse in the centre of each face, and a small apsidal chapel at the east end of each aisle, square on the exterior, but rounded within (one of them has been altered, but there are evident marks that it corresponded with the other). Each of these apses is covered by a semi-dome vault, and in the principal eastern apse the vault is covered by a mosaic of very early character, apparently contemporaneous with the building. There are remains of an inscription in it, but mutilated, and I had not time to decipher it. The other inscription is incised in the abacus of the two eastern capitals of the tower piers, and runs thus:—

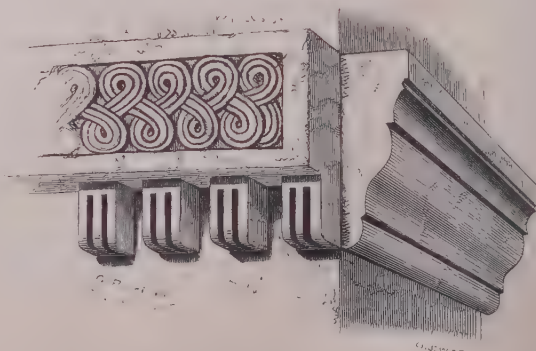
ANO: INCARNIS: DOMINI: DCCC: ET VI:
 III: NONAS: JAN: DEDICATIO
 HUIUS: ECCLESIAE
 SUB: INVOCATIONE
 S: GERMINI: S: GINEVRAE:

ANNO INCARNATIONIS DOMINI DCCC ET VI. III NONAS JANUARIIL. DEDICATIO HUIUS
 ECCLESIAE SUB INVOCATIONE SANCTI GERMINI (et) SANCTAE GINEVRÆ.

The words Sancti Germini are in another face of the capital, and it is probable that the conjunction *et* has been lost. The pillars are square and tall, not massive, and the capitals consist merely of an abacus with a row of blocks under it, in evident imitation of the mutules and triglyphs of the Grecian Doric order. In one instance the abacus is large and flat, and ornamented with the peculiar interlaced pattern called Runic; others have mouldings of Roman character, parti-

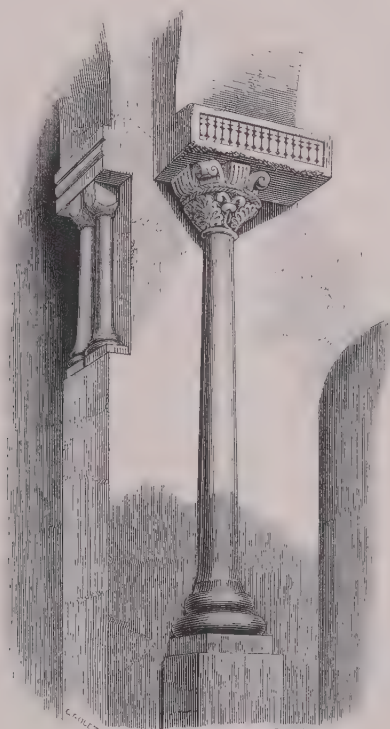


IMPOST OF PIERS, GERMIGNY.



IMPOST IN THE TOWER, GERMIGNY.

cularly the ogee and the quirked ogee. The arches are generally round-headed, but some are horse-shoed, and one is pointed, though this seems equally original with the others. The chancel-arch, or rather the arch of the eastern apse, is more ornamented than the rest, having shafts attached to the piers, with moulded bases and sculptured capitals of very peculiar character, approaching more to the Byzantine type than any other.



SHAFT OF THE CHANCEL ARCH, GERMIGNY.

The aisles have plain wagon vaults, and the bay nearest to the tower on each side is a story higher than the rest, so that the lower stage of the tower forms a sort of clerestory or lantern to the church. On the first story of the tower are very curious windows, resembling those in the Anglo-Saxon remains. In the upper story the windows are enriched with ornaments worked in plaster, but which appear to be original; the cable-moulding occurs, and a curious pattern incised, resembling Roman work. Some of the imposts have the billet ornament. The shafts are very irregular, and the capitals have foliage of shallow Greek forms; the imposts are square and fluted.

The appearance of the exterior is remarkably pyramidal, the lower part of the tower being inclosed in a sort of clerestory; a plan not unusual in Byzantine churches, but almost peculiar to that style.

There seems every reason to believe that the other churches built by Charlemagne in different parts of France were of the same plan and character as this, although very few of them now remain. The small church of the Holy Cross near Arles is a perfect Byzantine church in remarkably good preservation, and has an inscription of the same period, and I see no good reason to doubt that these inscriptions are genuine, but some of the French antiquaries consider them, both at Germigny and at Arles, as forgeries of the monks, and assert that both churches were built in the eleventh or twelfth century.

TOURNUS.

The next church to which I will call your attention is the very remarkable Abbey Church of TOURNUS on the Saone, the age of which is much disputed, but which I am inclined to attribute to the eleventh century; it is very irregular, both in plan and in construction, and, so far as I have been able to learn, is perfectly unique. The plan is cruciform, with a tower at the intersection; the choir short, with an apse, an aisle or procession path round it, and three apsidal chapels, which are square instead of being rounded as is usual in France. The transepts are short, with square ends, and each has a square chapel on the east side. The nave is long, with aisles, and is vaulted in a very remarkable manner with a series of barrel vaults placed transversely across each bay, with a window at each end of the barrel or wagon head, instead of being placed longitudinally, according to the usual custom. I believe this is almost the only instance known of this arrangement of the vaults. There is something a little similar in the cathedral of Le Puy, but then it is a series of low cupolas over each bay, and the same arrangement occurs in the remains of the Roman Church of the sixth century at Perigueux, where Roman barrel vaults are carried on arches transversely across the aisles. At Tournus there is a cupola or domical vault under the central tower. At the west end of the nave is a very remarkable galilee or narthex, or large western porch, with a chapel over it. This arrangement is not common, but there are several other instances of it in different parts of France, as at St. Savin and St. Benoit-sur-Loire, where it is a rich work of the twelfth century. In all these cases I believe the upper chapel is dedicated to St. Michael. The two stories of the western porch at Tournus occupy the same

height together as the one story of the nave. This work is singularly plain and heavy, and might appear of almost any remote period, but there is scarcely any difference of character between this porch and the nave, and the appearance is rather that of a change of plan during the progress of the work than that one is materially later than the other. It is, however, probable that this porch of two stories formed part of the original design. The capitals both in the nave and the porch are alike, merely plain imposts. The vaults of the western porch are exactly the reverse of those of the nave; the central space has a groined vault; the aisles have the transverse barrel vaults. In the upper part or chapel of St. Michael the central space has a barrel vault longitudinal; the aisles have half-barrel or lean-to vaults. The lower windows of this chapel are merely loop-holes, and have never been glazed; the clerestory windows are plain, round-headed, and are glazed. The vaulting shafts are plain flat pilasters, resting on the imposts of the massive round pillars; the imposts are square in section, with a set-off under them, like two tiles with the edges overlapping, but they are round, following the form of the pillar, with very slight projections, and not square, with projecting corners, as in Roman work. The masonry is of the rudest description, mere rag-work of small stones. There is an inscription in the upper chapel; I could not see it sufficiently well to decipher it, but it seems of early character: the two western towers are open to this chapel, and have no floors. These two towers were originally only one story above the roof of the church, and one remains in its original state; the other has two additional stories, added in the twelfth century, like the central tower. There were originally two staircases from the upper chapel into the aisles of the nave, which are a little wider than those of the galilee. The transepts and the chapels of the choir, with the crypts under them, are of the same rude and early character as the nave; but the central part of the choir, and the crypt under it, are later work, probably of the twelfth century. The cupola belongs to the early work, the tower above it to the later; there is an evident and clumsy junction in the work. The early masonry is wide-jointed, the later fine-jointed. The cupola is a good deal like the oldest at Le Puy. The pillars inclosing the apse of the choir rest upon a dwarf wall, and have well-sculptured capitals of the twelfth century. The central aisle of the crypt also has slender shafts, with richly foliated capitals of the same period. The capitals of the shafts under the cupola are also of the twelfth century, showing that the interior was fitted up and altered at the same time that the exterior was raised. The shafts of the clerestory of the apse

have Roman pilasters between them, some fluted, others ornamented; the archivolts have also Roman ornaments; but the continual use of Roman pilasters in the apse is a well-known provincialism of this part of France, as at Lyons, Vienne, and Geneva.

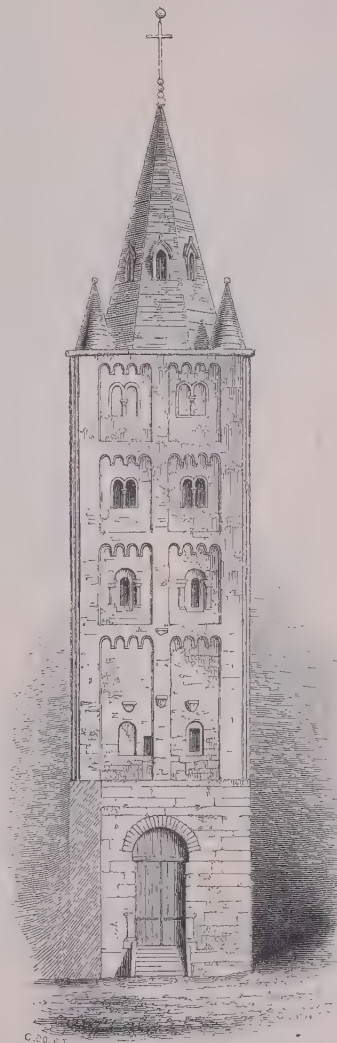
The procession path, or aisle round the apse, has a barrel vault, the arch ribs of which follow the apse in a singular manner. There are small apsidal chapels on the east side of each transept. The south transept has a good Early-French window of the thirteenth century, with foliated circles in the head, but the rest of the transept belongs to the early work. The north transept is different, and belongs to the later work of the twelfth. There were originally two entrances to the crypt, one from each transept; both are now blocked up, and a new entrance made on the south side of the choir. Chapels of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been added on the south side of the nave; one of them, of the thirteenth, has the old painting remaining; there is also some painting of the twelfth century in the crypt. The two chapels of the fourteenth century have windows with reticulated tracery and open cusps. The surface of the walls of the nave and towers on the exterior is ornamented with shallow panelling, and a kind of rude zigzag like tiles.

S. MAURICE.

I propose now to call your attention to a few churches in that part of Switzerland which borders upon France, and which formerly belonged to the duchy of Burgundy, and the ancient diocese of Vienne, now in the dioceses of Geneva, Lausanne, and Sion. These churches have been recently described, and their history investigated with much care and research, by M. Blavignac, architect, of Geneva, in a work which does him much credit, and contains many curious and valuable facts, but disfigured by very strange, wild, and fanciful theories, which his facts do not at all support. We are, however, much indebted to him for his work, and I have individually to thank him for much personal courtesy, and for information as to the exact localitiës of the churches he has described. The first which I will describe, as it furnishes a key to several others, is that of S. MAURICE, on the Upper Rhone, a few miles above the Lake of Geneva, on the road to the pass of the Simplon. The body of the church has been rebuilt, and possesses no interest; but the tower is ancient and very curious. It is built almost entirely of the fragments of some Roman building, and hence, according to the theory of M. Blavignac and others, ought to belong to the fifth or sixth century, and to

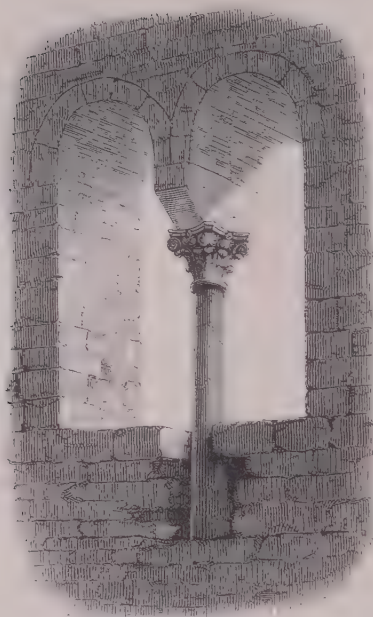
be the work of the primitive Christians. But this theory appears to me quite untenable: there is reason to believe, from several incidental notices in contemporary writings, that the early Christians did not destroy the Roman buildings, but purified them, and made use of them; the basilicas, or law courts, being so frequently converted into churches as to have given their name to them, and to have served as the favourite type for Roman churches. These Roman buildings were destroyed, along with almost every other vestige of civilisation, by the various tribes of barbarians who overran Europe at a subsequent period, and in this part of Switzerland by the Saracens in the tenth century. They did not obtain any permanent hold of the country, and were driven out again by William Count of Provence about 975, or before the end of the tenth century. As soon as the country had time to recover from their devastations, and to return to the arts of peace, the Christian inhabitants began to rebuild their churches. Accordingly, we find the rebuilding of S. Maurice recorded in 1014.^a

The construction is mere rubble work, and very rude, but it is partly cased with Roman ashlar, and the ornaments consist almost entirely of Roman fragments. The belfry windows are very similar to our Anglo-Saxon windows of two lights, divided by a baluster, supporting a long stone placed transversely through the thickness of the wall, which is very massive, of rubble plastered over. The balusters are chiefly formed of old Roman columns cut in two, using the capital for one, and the base turned upward for the other; and in one instance, at least, making a new capital in rude and clumsy imitation of Roman work. Some of these half columns were too long for their new situation, and one is let into the wall to the depth of two or three feet below the window-sill.



TOWER, S. MAURICE, A.D. 1014;
WITH SPIRE, A.D. 1236.

^a Burdi, Hist. de S. Sigismund, p. 275.



WINDOW IN THE TOWER, S. MAURICE.

The two upper stories of the tower have windows of this character, but the greater part of them have been walled up: a few have been opened, and the capitals found perfect on the balusters in the middle of the thick wall of rubble and plaster. The third story from the top has different windows, single lights, with small openings and large wide arches; they have mostly been altered, but one on the south side is perfect, and very like some of our rude early Saxon windows, which have very probably been copied from this district. There is a straight stone staircase carried up on one side of the tower, evidently original, the lower part being in the thickness of the wall. This was probably before the introduction of newel staircases. It is remarkable that our Saxon towers also have no newel staircases, and are tall and lofty in their

proportions, like these Swiss towers.

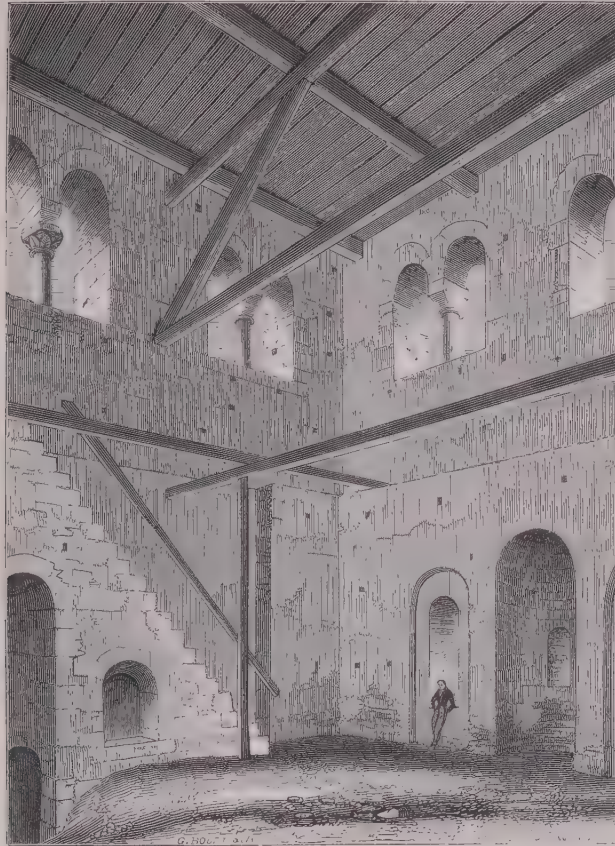
The next story below, or the first story from the ground, is vaulted with a plain groined vault, in rude imitation of Roman work.

The windows on this story are larger than those above, but divided by a baluster with a Roman capital in the same manner; and over each of these large windows is a small loop-window in the vaulting.

In each story there is a semicircular recess on one side, as if for an altar; that in the lower story has some painting of the fifteenth century—figures of the Virgin and Child, and two others; showing that this story at least was used as a chapel, and probably the others also. The arches over the windows are formed of stones cut to the size and form of tiles, and arranged in the same manner as an arch formed of tiles.

The exterior of the tower is ornamented with shallow panelling exactly like that at Tournus, and many other towers of the eleventh century. The tower is surmounted by a dwarf spire, with corner pinnacles, evidently an addition of the thirteenth century, and recorded^a to have been built by Count Peter of Savoy in 1236, although the exaggerated language of the Chroniclers has led to the confusion of this spire with the whole tower.

^a Monumenta Historiæ Patriæ Scriptorum, t. i. 1840, p. 155; and Burdi, Hist. de St. Sigismund, p. 570.



INTERIOR OF THE SECOND STORY OF THE TOWER, S. MAURICE.

ROMAIN-MOTIER.

The church of ROMAIN-MOTIER is perhaps the finest of this class that we have remaining. It is about a hundred and fifty feet long by thirty wide, including the large western porch or narthex, with S. Michael's chapel over it, as at Tournus. So far as the architectural character only is our guide, it may be of almost any period between the departure of the Romans and the twelfth century. When on the spot I was inclined to attribute it to the eleventh, and still think that a considerable portion of it is probably of that time; but as M. Blavignac informs us that a church was consecrated here in A.D. 753, and there are some portions of the building extremely rude and curious, I am not disposed to dispute that some portion of it is probably of that period. In some parts of the building

there is considerable resemblance to our Anglo-Saxon churches, which gives it additional interest in my eyes.

The part which has retained its original character the most, is the north transept, and the first bay of the choir. The end of the transept has on the exterior the same sort of pilaster strips, or shallow panelling, with the small arcs at the top of the panels. In the interior the masonry is very rude. It has two segmental arches, and is covered by a barrel vault, with a kind of rude Welsh vaults over the side-windows. At the end of the transept are three small round windows, high up in the wall, and a round-headed window under them. This arrangement is the same as at Crommarsh, near Wallingford, in Berkshire, and several other early churches in England.

The central tower is carried upon four lofty arches, round, with flat pilasters, and very simple imposts. Over the central space is a plain octagonal vault. The aisles have the usual early vaults, groined without ribs. The nave has a vault of the thirteenth century, a very evident addition; and the eastern bay is of the same period. The first bay of the choir has two small plain arches, divided by a very curious pillar, or small pilaster, of Roman work, a narrow strip of wall, with a shaft attached to each side of it, having capitals of Roman foliage, but either very rude work or mutilated. This is evidently brought from some other building, and is of a different material from the rest of the church. This bay has a plain barrel vault.

The nave has round arches on very massive and rude piers, with clumsy capitals, or rather imposts. The windows in the aisles are very small, and not much splayed. The western porch has a groined vault, and is divided into three aisles; but the arches are walled up. The chapel over it is of the same plan. The vaults are groined; the pilasters of hewn stone, but very rough. The upper chapel, dedicated to St. Michael, is more ornamented than the lower part, and the pillars are lighter; four are round, and two are square, and their capitals ornamented with a rude attempt at sculpture, but very shallow. At the east end is a recess for an altar, with an opening into the church. Westward of this Galilee porch or chapel another porch has been added in the thirteenth century.

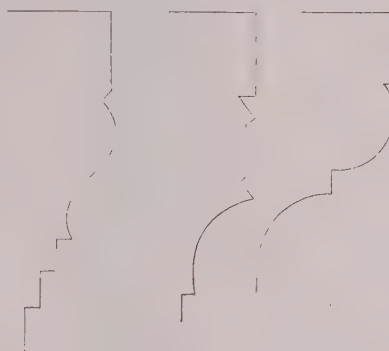
GRANSON.

The church of GRANSON is situated on the bank of the Lake of Neuchatel, and is another instance of the use of the materials of some Roman building; but the work is not so early as in those previously described. The plan is cruciform, with aisles, and a central tower. The nave has very small round arches, quite plain,

carried on tall round pillars, which are evidently Roman work, and are of different lengths; the bases being stilted more or less to accommodate them, and to make them range at the top to receive the arches. The capitals are well sculptured, with bold foliage deeply cut; the greater part are evidently Roman, but some are carved



BASE IN THE NAVE, GRANSON.



SECTIONS OF IMPOSTS IN THE NAVE, GRANSON.

with figures of different kinds. One has the two horses rampant, back to back, and tied together—an allegorical design very common in the South of France in work of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The vaults are barrel-shaped, carried on arches. The aisles have arches recessed in the walls, carried on pilaster shafts, the capitals of which may be early, but the bases are late, with deep hollows and corner ornaments. The aisle-vaults are a segment of a circle. The central tower is carried on four round arches, on massive square piers, with moulded imposts. The central vault is octagonal and domical, with a round opening in the centre. The upper part of the tower is of the thirteenth century. The first bay of the choir is early work, with a pointed barrel vault, the eastern bay of the thirteenth century, and very like English rude country work. The transepts have the western walls belonging to the old work and the eastern side, of the thirteenth century. The old work is probably of the eleventh.



NAVE, GRANSON.

It would have been easy to have lengthened these notes by extracts or compilations from other books, or by first relating and then answering M. Blavaignac's theories; but his work possesses much sterling value and merit from his laborious investigation and careful collection of facts, which will remain long after his theories are forgotten, and it would be invidious only to appear to find fault with a work to which I have been much indebted. I have preferred simply to confine myself to my own brief notes made upon the spot in each instance.

I remain, my Lord,

With much respect,

Your very obedient Servant,

J. H. PARKER.

XVIII. *Some Account of the Possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in North Wilts, in the days of the Anglo-Saxon Kings; with Remarks on the Ancient Limits of the Forest of Braden.* By JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, Secretary.

Read February 19, 1857.

At the commencement of the present session I had the honour of communicating to the Society some remarks on land limits, appended to a charter of King Athelstan to the Abbey of Malmesbury, the result of a personal survey of Kemble and Ewen, in the northern extremity of the county of Wilts. The success of my investigations on that occasion encouraged me to pursue my researches still further, and to attempt, during the recess, an identification of the possessions of that early religious establishment prior to the Norman Conquest. I exhibit a map (Plate VI.) on which I have marked the ancient and modern names.

The purport of the following remarks being simply a review of what land was held by the abbey, it will not be expected that I should dwell on its early history; but I may here observe that there appears sufficient foundation for the story given by Leland from an old chronicle of the monastery, which states that Malmesbury was originally called Bladun, and that the Saxons gave it the name of Ingelbourne: nor can we deny that it had been the residence of a British king, although we may fairly question his being "the eighteenth from Brute." Neither can it be disputed that the neighbouring village of Brokenborough was once a royal residence, and known in earlier times as Caidurburgh. A visit to that remarkable spot will satisfy the inquirer that it was once a position of importance, and, like Malmesbury and Tetbury, by nature well adapted for the site of an ancient fortress. The peasantry of the neighbourhood have a tradition that "Brokenborough is a hundred years older than Malmesbury," and numerous coins of the Lower Empire, found in the fields around it, attest its ancient occupation, while the lane leading to it by Back Bridge affords perhaps at this day one of the most perfect examples of the roads by which our ancestors were wont to travel.

The following exhibits the possessions of the Abbey after the Norman Conquest :—

| Name in the Domesday Survey. | Modern Name. | Assessed in the reign of Edward the Confessor at |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1. Hiwei | Highway | 11 hides. ^a |
| 2. Dantesic | Dantsey | 10 „ |
| 3. Sumreford | Somerford Kaynes | 5 „ |
| 4. Brecheorde | Brinkworth | 5 „ |
| 5. Nortone | Norton | 5 „ |
| 6. Brocheneberge. | Brokenborough | 50 „ |
| 7. Chemele | Kemble | 30 „ |
| 8. Newentone | Long Newenton | 30 „ |
| 9. Cerletone | Charlton | 20 „ |
| 10. Gardone | Garsdon | 3 „ |
| 11. Credvelle | Crudwell | 40 „ |
| 12. Breme | Bremhill | 38 „ |
| 13. Piritone | Purton | 35 „ |
| Presenting a total of | | <u>282 hides.</u> |

We shall now see how this extensive property was successively acquired, and what proportion it bears to the possessions of the Abbey under the Anglo-Saxon dynasty.

The grants to the Abbey of Malmesbury by the Anglo-Saxon Kings, nobles, prelates, and others, taken in chronological order, are as follows :—

^a As some misapprehension exists as to the term *hide*, no apology will be required for the following remarks on its real signification, taken from Mr. Kemble's "Saxons in England," book i. ch. iv.

"The ordinary Anglo-Saxon words are, *higid* (in its contracted and almost universal form, *hid*) and *hiwisc*. The Latin equivalents which we find in the chronicles and charters are, *familia*, *cassatus*, *mansus*, *mansa*, *mansio*, *manens*, and *terra tributarii*. The words *hid* and *hiwisc* are similar, if not identical, in meaning; they stand in close etymological relation to *higan*, *hiwan*, the family, the man and wife, and thus perfectly justify the Latin terms *familia* and *cassatus*, by which they are translated. The *hid* then, or hide of land, is the estate of one household, the amount of land sufficient for the support of one family. It is clear, however, that this could not be an invariable quantity, if the households were to be subsisted on an equal scale; it must depend upon the original quality and condition of the soil, as well as upon manifold contingencies of situation, climate, aspect, accessibility of water and roads, abundance of natural manures, proximity of marshes and forests—in short, an endless catalogue of varying details."

Those who will take the trouble to compare some of the land-limits recited in the following pages with the accompanying map will not fail to subscribe to the soundness of the writer's views on the subject of the *hide*.

1. BISHOP LIUTHARI. Aug. 26, 675. Codex Dipl. No. XI.—This charter is granted to Aldhelm, the presbyter, at the solicitation of certain Abbots. The gift appears to have included the ground on which the Abbey and its appurtenances afterwards rose. It has been supposed that the town at this time belonged to Liuthari.

2. COENFRITH, EARL OF MERCIA. Anno 680. Anglia Sacra, tom. II. p. 10.—This nobleman, the near kinsman of Æthelred, gives “quandam telluris particulam Venerabili Abbati Aldhelmo sub æstimatione x. cassatorum in loco qui dicitur Wudutun.”^a

3. ÆTHELRED OF MERCIA. Anno 681. Codex Dipl. No. XXII.—By this charter “xv. cassatos prope Tectan monasterium” are given by the King to the brethren of Meldunesburg, but the gift appears, in reality, to be that of Coenfrith in the same year.

4. ÆTHELRED OF MERCIA. Anno 681. Codex Dipl. No. XXIII.—Æthelred, at the request of his kinsman, Coenfrith, endows the Abbey with “xxx. cassatos ab occidentali parte stratae publicae, et non longe in alio loco quindecim, prope Tectan monasterium.” The latter is, however, apparently a confirmation of the grant of Coenfrith.

The land limits here added, are taken from the Codex Dipl. iii. p. 374, but I have not been able to trace their connection with the grant, and unfortunately the reference is omitted. The mention of “Charlton juxta Tetbury” would leave us to infer that it was the village near that town, but the occurrence of Hanekynton (Hankerton) north-east of Malmesbury, shows which Charlton is intended.

Hii sunt termini terrae de Cherlton. Inprimis a loco qui dicitur Totleie directe per viam usque quiccaeleyen versus aquilonem; et ex inde versus meridiem usque la done; usque la notte stokke; et ab eodem usque cweok ende; et ab illo loco usque Oddeburne, videlicet, ad le crundle; et tunc per filum aquae vel cursum usque ad waldes-forde; et sic directe per viam usque ceasterbroke; et tunc per cursum aquae usque la hide; et ab eodem versus occidentem ultra montem usque scorte slade; et tunc directe per amnem usque cucwan welle; et ab eodem fonte usque le niwe heme woodewe; et sic per viam directe usque ad metam de Hanekyntone versus meridiem; et tunc ab eadem meta usque sondheye; et ab eodem usque ad boscum inter duo clausa; et sic per quandam viam directe usque le brandestokke; et ab eodem usque le hælde rode in parte aquilonari del perer; et ab illo loco directe per viam usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, Tollere. (*sic*)

Rubric. Quomodo Æðelredus Rex contulit Aldelmo abbati et Meldunensi coenobio Neweþtone et Cherletone juxta Tetteburi.

Codex Dipl. tom. iii. p. 374.

^a In Dugdale, as well as in Tanner, we find this town called *Wudecim*. In the former it is given as the name of an individual!

5. CAEDWEALHA OF WESSEX. Aug. Anno 682. Codex Dipl. No. XXIV.—This king gave land on either side the wood called Kemele, comprising thirty-two cassates. The land limits have not come down to us, but, as we shall hereafter perceive, the grant included the wood of Flusrugge, or, as it is now called, Flisterage.

6. BERHTWALD. July 30, 685. Codex Dipl. No. XXVI.—This king gave to Aldhelm forty cassates on the eastern bank of the stream called Thames, at the ford called Somerford, now Somerford Kaynes.

7. CAEDUUEALHA OF WESSEX. Aug. 19, 688. Codex Dipl. No. XXIX.—A grant to Aldhelm of land “ex utraque parte silvae ejus vocabulum est Kemele, de orientali plaga termini stratarum, usque famosum annem qui dicitur Temis, c. et xl. manentes; et in alio loco xxx. de orientali parte silvae Bradon.”

8. INI OF WESSEX. Anno 701. Codex Dipl. No. XLVIII.—A grant to Aldhelm and his monastery comprises 45 cassates in the following places, namely,

- v. manentes in loco qui dicitur *Gersdun*; et
- xx. ,, ubi rivulus qui *Corsaburn* oritur; et
- x. ,, in alio loco juxta eundem rivulum; et
- x. ,, juxta laticem qui vocatur *Reodburna*.

9. CUTHRAED OF WESSEX. Anno 745. Codex Dipl. No. XCIV.—This grant by Cuthraed, who is styled “Rex Gewissorum,” is made, “Aldhelmo familiæque,” with the approbation of the Bishop Daniel. It comprises ten mansiones at Uudetun, in after times called Wootton Bassett.

10. CYNEWULF OF WESSEX. Anno 758. Codex Dipl. No. CIII.—This charter gives xxx. manentes at Meardaen^a and Reodburn; “Hæc est ubi se duo latices iunguntur Meardaeno et Reodburna, et in circuitu eorum, quemadmodum ipsi incolae bene nosce dinoscuntur terminos et limites locorum illorum, nec non et villam cui subiacent, pascua, prata, arida, irrigua, simul et silvestria loca.”

11. ECGFRITH. Anno 796. Codex Dipl. No. CLXXIV.—In the first year of his reign, Ecgfrith, King of Mercia, at the request of Beorhtric, King of the West Saxons, and Athelhard the Archbishop, gives to the Abbot Cuthbeorht, and the brethren of the Abbey of Malmesbury, xxxv. manentes, in the place called “Aet Piertean,”^b on the east side of the forest called Braden, as an expiatory offering

^a The state of this district is described in the Cartulary of the Abbey of Malmesbury, MS. Cott. Faustina, B. fol. 202, “De Campo vocato Mordone.”

^b This name is corrupted to *Empirigeam* in Dugdale and Tanner.

for himself and for the repose of the soul of his father Offa, who when living had taken them from the abbey.^a

This boundary commences at a rivulet called "Lortinges Bourne," but wherever this was situated its name at least is no longer known to the inhabitants of the district. "Teowes Thorne" and "Hermodes Thorne" have alike disappeared in the inclosures. "Hassukes Moor" is not noticed in the Ordnance Survey, but in the Map of Andrews and Dury, we find Hacksmore, a little to the north of Woodward's Bridge. The boundary then extends to an ancient ditch, and thence to the "richsbed," from which it proceeds to the stream called "Worfe." From this stream it extends to "the Steorte," and thence to "the Wythy" and "Helves Thorne," of which no traditions exist. Nor is "the Westaple" remembered, but it seems probable that "Butlesleye" is the spot where Butslake farm now stands. "Wrkeleye," "Brokouere," and "the pinne or penne," are no longer to be distinguished, but "Crokrigge" is, in all probability, the locality now called Cockride, or Cockroad, an obvious corruption of its real name. On a visit to the spot I found evident traces of ancient potteries, for which the depth of fine clay and the abundance of wood rendered the site eligible. From Crokrigge the boundary proceeds to the brook called Woburn, and thence to the ditch which reaches "Wlfmere," by the apple-tree as far as "la freynne," and so to "Calofurcia" and "Appeldore Selewyke." From thence it proceeds to the "Wetherstocke," and then to the ash-tree beyond "Gustingleye," and from Gustingleye to the road northward to the rivulet first named, Lortinges Bourne.

In uilla de Puritone xxxv. terrae sunt, et hii sunt termini terrae eiusdem. Inprimis a loco qui dicitur Lortinges bourne usque teowes ^b þorne; et ab eodem loco usque Hermodes þorne; et ab eodem usque blakemere; et ab illo loco usque hassukes more; et ab eodem uersus aquilonem usque ad fossatum quod appellatur olde dich; et per illud fossatum directe usque richsbed; et ab eodem usque ad aquam quae uocatur Worfe; et sic directe per aquam usque la steorte; et ab illo loco usque la wyðie; et ab eodem usque helues þorne; et ab illo loco usque la ^c westapele; et ab eodem usque Butlesleye; et sic usque Wrkeleye; et ab eodem usque brokouere fortwarde, id est, in principio; et ab illo loco usque la pinne uel penne; et ab eodem usque crokrigge; et ab illo loco usque Woburne; et ab eodem usque fossatum quod extendit se in Wlfmere; et ab illo loco per le appeldore usque ad la freynne; et sic ab eodem usque ad Calofurcia; et ab illo loco usque in appeldore selewyke; et ab eodem usque weðerstocke; et ab eodem usque le esc ultra Gustingleye; et de Gustingleye usque la rode uersus aquilonem; et ab eodem rode usque ad locum primo scriptum, uidelicet, Lortinges bourne. Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 387, and Add. MS. Brit. Mus. No. 15667, p. 33.

^a "—et pro requie animæ patris mei Offan, quam ille vivens abstulit eis."

^b In Add. MS. No. 15,667 "teoths."

^c In Add. MS. No. 15,667 "Lawestapele."

12. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. Anno 844. Codex Dipl. No. CCLV.—Gives “v. mansiunculas in loco qui dicitur Mintih.” No land-limits are added, which is to be regretted, as they would doubtless have shed much light on other boundaries.

13. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. Nov. 5, 844. Codex Dipl. No. MXLVIII.—This charter confirms previous grants, which are thus alluded to:—“Ðæt is at Ellen-dūne^a þrity hýde, and æt Elmhāmstede fyftene hýde, æt Wttūne tien hýde, et Cherltūne tuentig hýde, et Mynty uif hýde, at Rōdburne tien hýde.”

14. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. Anno 850. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXIII.—For the good of his soul, and as an expiation of his sins, Aethelwlf gives “decem mansiones, in loco qui dicitur Dometesis,” an error of the scribe for Domecesige (Dantsey).

Professor Leo supposes Domecesige received its name from its having been the island of judicial duels; but this interpretation is at variance with etymological construction. Domecesige is simply the river island owned by an individual named Domec. I have endeavoured, but in vain, to trace the following boundaries, the line of which commences with Domecesige and proceeds to the Idover,^b which appears also to have been called the Avon. May we suppose that the locality “strenges buryeles” is that now known as “Stranger’s Farm?”

Hii sunt termini terrae de *Damices eye*. Uidelicet primo a loco qui uocatur *Damices eye* directe per *Auene* usque *Wodebrigge*; et ab eodem loco usque *strenges buryeles*; et ab eodem loco directe per *fossatum* quod appellatur *holde dicke* usque *Budegete*; et ab eodem loco usque ad locum quod appellatur *heðene burieles*; et ab eodem loco usque ad *grete hames suð hele*; et ab eodem usque ad quoddam lignum quod appellatur *grete trewe*; et sic ultra *clytes combe* usque le *stanclyf*; et ab eodem loco directe per quendam locum qui appellatur *le egge* usque ad locum qui dicitur *scufan borwe*; et ab eodem loco usque ad *fontem* qui appellatur *swynes welle*; et ab eodem fonte usque le *hayeleye gate*; et ab eodem loco directe in *Dameces eye borne buye*; et ab eodem loco usque le *rigweye*, uidelicet super le *heðene burieles*; et ab eodem usque ad le *wyðy bed*, uidelicet ad eundem locum qui appellatur *heued aker hende*; et sic ab eodem loco usque le *apældore stoc*; et ab eodem usque *Auene*, uidelicet ad locum qui dicitur le *syche*; et ab eodem loco directe per *Auene* circa locum primo nominatum, uidelicet *Dameces eye*.

Hii sunt termini prati quod uocatur *Swanhammes mede* quod pertinet ad *Damices eye*. Primo a quodam loco qui uocatur *torre* qui jacet in parte occidentali eiusdem prati usque ad *spinam quae appellatur ayborne* a midewarde; et ab eadem spina usque ad riuium qui dicitur *Ydouere*, uidelicet contra le *holde garanne*; et sic directe per *Ydouere* usque le *blake pole*; et ab eodem loco usque ad

^a The more ancient name of Wilton.

^b “The Idover at Dautesey, of good note in Smithfield, which sends as fatt cattle to Smythfield as any place in the nation.” Aubrey, Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire, 4to. Lond. 1847, p. 37.

quandam petram recte contra le ellarne; et sic ab eadem petra directe per uiam usque ad locum primo nominatum, uidelicet la torre.—Cod. Dipl. Tom. iii. p. 392.

15. ÆTHELWLF OF WESSEX. April 22, 854. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXXI.—This is a release of royal dues in the places hereafter named, *i. e.* Purton, Cwacot, Sutton, Corsaburn, Crudwell, Kemble, and Dantsey. The instrument was subscribed at Wilton at the time of Easter.

These places are thus referred to:—"per is þat erest æt Pirigtune, fif and þrittig hyda, æt Cwacot fiftine hyda, æt Suðtune fif, æt Corsaburnan fif hyda, æt Criddanwylle tien hyda, æt Cemele tien hyda, æt Domeccesige þriddehalf hiwisc."

16. ÆTHELWLF. Anno 854. Codex Dipl. No. CCLXXIII.—In the same year, "partem terræ Gewisorum, hoc est v mansiones—in loco qui dicitur Toccanham," were given by Æthelwulf to the monastery. I can find no land limits to this grant in the Cartularies.

17. AELFRED. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXXI.—A charter of this king, without date, gives to his faithful servant Dudig, and three heirs after him—"ut habeat atque possideat dies suos et post se tribus hæredibus quibuscunque voluerit dimittat—iiii^{or} cassatorum," but the locality is not mentioned: this, however, is supplied by the following.

18. ORDLAF. Anno 901. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXIX.—By this instrument Ordlaf gives to the monastery of Malmesbury the four cassates at Ceolwurðe, which he had inherited from Dudig, in exchange for five cassates in Mehhandun.

The inclosures have here obliterated the landmarks mentioned in these limits, which, however, are shewn to be bounded on the north by the "Via Regia," or road to Malmesbury, as far as "Kemel gete." The little meadow called "Sunder" is now known as "the Little Sindram."

Termini terrae de *Chelewrðe*. Inprimis a loco qui appellatur *Prestemere* usque *bradon weye*; et ab eodem usque *Colesleye*; et ab illo loco usque ad *deyburteh*; et sic usque *etinges hæle* versus meridiem; et ab eodem per *wrðwelaue* versus meridiem usque *Eadbeldinges leye*; et sic usque *Chelewrðe*; et ibi stat *quidam truncus* ex opposito in occidentali parte de *leye*; et ab eodem per *metam* versus meridiem ultra *boscum* usque ad *fossatum*; et per illud *fossatum* usque ad *viam regiam* quae tendit de *Kemele gete*; et sic usque ad *spinam* quae stat inferius in *australi parte de Tæuesdene in valle*; et sic usque *etinges heale* praeter unam acram; item xii. acrae iacent ex parte occidentali de *Kemele gete* quae pertinet ad *Chelewrðe*; et x. acrae quae iacent in *crisiten more*; et vi. in *valle* quae appellatur *lasse dale*, iii. in loco qui appellatur *inare*; et in loco qui appellatur *sunder* in orientali parte de *Crudewelle* jacet quaedam parva terra quae quidem est communis cum terra de *Crudewelle* et terra de *Escote*.

Rubric. De *Chelewrðe* quam Ordlaf Meldunensi coenobio largitus est licentia gloriosissimi regis Eadwardi pro commutatione terrae de Mehhandun.—Cod. Dipl. App. vol. iii. p. 406.

The charter of Abbot Walter,^a here given,^b is curious for the names of places which occur in it, especially for the allusion to the Chapel of Chelworth, which at that period was in ruins.

Carta Abb̄tis Wal̄ti facta Thome filio Witi de quadam
terra in man̄io de Creddeuuelle.

Omnib; xⁱ fidelib; ad quos p̄sens scriptum puen̄it. Wal̄us dī gracia abb; Malm̄ et eiusdem loci quentus salm in dño. Noūit uniuersitas ūra nos ꝓcessisse, dedisse, et hac p̄senti carta confirmasse, Thō fit Witi et h̄edib; suis ꝓ homagio suo et seruicio totam t̄ram q̄ Witis pat̄ suus tenuit in man̄io n̄ro de Creddeuuelle die q^a obiit; eandem, scit̄ quam dictus Thomas tenuit post obitum p̄ris sui: uidet̄ in campo de Chelewr̄dem ūsus occidentem xxx^{ta}.vj. ac^{us}; in alio campo ūsus orientem x^{liij}; cum crofta s̄r quam d̄cs Wits edificauit et bencroftā et Migyhei; cū viij. ac^{is} in Esthemefeld, cum dimidia uirgata t̄re quam Brithwy tenuit in Creddehemefeld; et cum paruo Hamme de p̄to iuxta morcotehaued; cum t̄ib; acris de Bekesewelle que fuerunt cambite ꝓ crofta Brithwy; cū trib; acris in Credemore ꝓtinent⁹ ad Rofleslant. In Creddehemelfelde. Prētea totam Roflesland in Creddehemelfelde, scit̄ quinq; dimid⁹ uigat̄ t̄re et illam croftam integre que est ante portam dicti Thōm in Choelewr̄dē quam reginald⁹ quondam ꝓpositus tenuit. Et unā acram prati in Credemore que wodeaker appellatur. Et unā g^{ua} cum crofta in̄iacente iuxta boscum n̄m de Flusrigg q^{ua}m Wlwy tenuit sicut eam d̄co Thome certis limitib; assignauim⁹, scilicet cum fossato quod sepat boscum n̄m de flusrigg a predicta grauā et crofta, et cum haya que sepat agrum sationalem ūsus austrum a ꝓdicta grauā et crofta, et sicut diuise demonstrant que diuidunt pratū n̄m de Medleye a ꝓdicta grauā. Ita q̄d dictus Thōm et h̄edes sui habeant liberum ingressum et egressum in g^{ua}uam suā et a g^{ua}a sua ꝓ uiam que est in bosco n̄ro de Flusrigg iuxta domū que fuit Riċ Hubert que sumerwey appellatur: Tenenda sⁱ et h̄edibus suis de nob̄ et successorib; n̄ris: Reddendo inde annuatim quatuor solidos et vj. den̄ ad festum s̄ci Michaelis, et ad festū s̄ci Andree vij denarios et ōb de Hundredselū, et ad festum s̄ci Petri ad uinċla vnū denā s̄ci Petri, ꝓ omni ūicio, ꝓsuetudine et demanda, saluo regali seruicio ꝓtinentē ad lib⁹um sacagium quantum ad unam hidā t̄re. Nos ūo dicto Thōm et h̄edibus suis totam dictam t̄ram warātizabimus contra omnes hoīes. Tenebuntq; dictus Thōm et heredes sui totam ꝓdictam t̄ram ꝓ ꝓdictum seruicium, h̄editarie, libere et quiete, in uis, in semitis, in edificiis, in aquis, in past^{is}, in oīib; lib̄tatib;, et cum oīib; ꝓtinentiis, exceptis particulis subsc̄ptis. Quib; dictus Thōm ꝓ concessione et donatione predicta renunciavit ꝓ se et heredibus suis: scit̄ duab; croftis que sunt apud fractam capellam de Chelewr̄dem ex parte occidentali que Churchcroftes appellantur; et una grauā iuxta Chelwr̄dem cum prato adiacente que Ermegrauā appellatur; et uno p̄to ap̄d Creddeuuelle cum domo adiacente quod horscroft appellatur; et exceptis n̄ris dñicis pasturis. Omni autem iuri et clamo quod dictus Thōm dicebat se h̄re in exceptis particulis ꝓscriptis, in plena curia n̄ra ꝓpetuo renunciavit. Et easdem sacramento corporat̄ ꝓst̄ito abiurauit et quietas clamauit. Cartas eciam quas inde habuit nobis et domui n̄re ꝓ se et h̄edib; suis reddidit. Hec ut rata sint et firma, h^{ec} cartam fecim⁹ et sigillis n̄ris signauim⁹. Hiis testib; etc^a.

^a Walter Camme, who succeeded Simon de Aumeny, who died in A.D. 1360.

^b From the cartulary in the Stone Tower of Westminster, fol. Cxlvij.

19. EADWEARD. Anno 901. Codex Dipl. No. CCCXXXIII.—This monarch gave to the Monastery x. cassates in Hanekyntone, in exchange for an equivalent at Fearnberngas, which Mr. Kemble conceives to be Farmborough, in Somersetshire. The reason assigned for this interchange is that the first-named land is situated at a distance of two miles only from Malmesbury, while the latter is distant nearly twenty miles.

20. ÆTHELSTAN. Anno 931. Codex Dipl. No. CCCLV.—The lands mentioned in this charter, namely, v. mansas at Northun, v. mansas at Somerford, and the same number at Æwilme, escheated to the Crown by the treachery of Aelfred, a Wiltshire noble, who had designed seizing Æthelstan on his succession to the throne, and depriving him of his sight. The event is narrated by William of Malmesbury, and is recited at length in this instrument. An account of the land-limits of Æwilme will be found in my communication to the Society in 1856, *Archæologia*, vol. XXXVII. Those of Norton are given below.

The Rev. Canon Jackson, Vicar of Norton and Leigh Delamere, kindly informs me that he has often tried to identify the old with the modern names in the former parish, and has only partly succeeded. “Magðe forde” is now known as Maidford, one of the principal farm-houses. “Ellerne stubbe” still survives in Elstub,^a the name of a field on the boundary of the parish. “Kingweye” is the name of an old roadway now terminating in fields, and this shows at once the difficulties which must be encountered in any endeavour to trace the boundaries of these early grants of land, the inclosures having obliterated ancient designations and in some instances even highways. “Strata” is obviously the Acan Street, the south-western boundary of the grant.

Hii sunt termini quinque hidarum in uilla de Nortone. Imprimis a loco qui appellatur fougelmere, directe per stratam usque smale weye; et ab eadem uia usque walderes welle; et ab eodem fonte directe per cursum aquae usque le mere acre; et sic usque lasse dene suð eke; et ab eodem eke usque smale weye; et sic directe per uiam usque lange forlange; et sic uersus meridiem per le heuedlande usque le ellerne stubbe; et ab eodem usque burhweye; et sic ab eadem uia usque culuerthorne; et ab eadem spina per pratum usque kyngweye; et ab eadem uia directe usque luderston; et sic uersus occidentem directe per uiam usque magðe forde; et ab eodem usque bading mede; et ab eodem prato usque gurwe slade; et sic directe per uallem usque ad fossatum; et a fossato directe usque ad spinam quae stat in Ysendone; et ab eadem spina per hides edisc; et sic per sulcum directe usque pirdes welle; et sic directe per uallem usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, foulmere.

Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 407.

^a The Elder stub, or trunk, is an object often mentioned in A. S. boundaries. It gives the name to the hundred of Elstub and Everley, in Wilts.

21. ÆTHELSTAN. Dec. 21, 935. Codex Dipl. No. CCCLXVII.—A grant of ten cassates in the place called Wudutun.

22. EADWIG. Anno 956. Codex Dipl. No. CCCCLX.—This king gives to the Monastery, “in honore Aldelmi Paterni que aliorum sanctorum quorum reliquiae ibidem venerantur, centum mansas in Brokeneberegge.”

This is an important and extensive grant. By comparing it with the map we shall be able to comprehend its limits, although it is not possible at this time to recognise all the localities named in it. It will be seen that it commences where the rivulet Corsbrook falls into the Avon, including Starkley, near Rodbourne. Proceeding northward, its course is by the Fosse, or Acman Street,^a to the stream of the Inglebourne, now known as Newnton Water, above Malmesbury; then again by the Fosse to “Chegghemwilles broke,” and by that stream again by the Fosse up to the southern boundary of Cemele. Thence by a lane or “small weie” to the “cruddesetene mere,” to the high road on the south of Chelworth, to Primwaldes Pit, on the confines of Eastcot, as far as Braden brook, on the western boundary of the Forest of Braden. Thence by the course of the small streams Woburne and Garesbourne, skirting the Forest of Braden, formerly Orwoldes Wood, for about three miles. Continuing its course southward it reaches the stream Idovery, above Dantsey, and finally ends at the river Avon. The political events of the short reign of the unhappy prince will explain the motives that influenced him to bestow upon the monks of Malmesbury so valuable a gift, which enabled them to join house to house and land to land, and thus fuse into one compact territory a vast portion of the northern district of Wiltshire.

Hii sunt termini terræ de Bokeneberge. Inprimis ab orientali parte et australi ubi *amnis qui Corsbrok uocatur cadit in ripariam de Auene inter Somerford et enne pol*; ab eodem termino per eundem directe amnem de Corsbrok usque ad *metam fossati quae dich appellatur*; ab eodem fossato citra *sterkele* usque *beucumbe*; ab eo usque *smale brok*; ab eo directe per *echerelmeres imere* usque *Cleygate*; ab eo directe per *stratam publicam* usque *kingwei*; et ab eo directe usque *hegforlong* a parte orientali; ab eo usque ad *metam super Doddinges doune*; ab eo usque Corsbrok; ab eodem amne directe usque *Haywardes hamme*; ab eo usque ad uiam; et per eandem directe uiam usque *kyngweie*; et per eandem uiam usque ad *metam quae dich, hoc est fossatum*, appellatur; ab eo usque *Caudel mere*; ab eo usque *Wolfinges lewe*; ab eo directe usque ad *piriun*; ab eo ultra *Pleies wrðe* usque *toðulle*; a parte occidentali usque *Cloue*; et ab eo continue usque ad amnem; et per eundem amnem usque *Stretforde ultra Totele*; ab eo directe per *stratam publicam* quae ab antiquis *Stret nunc Fos* nuncupatur usque ad alteram *Stretforde* sub *bubbe porne* ad aquam quae *Ingelbourne* appellatur;

^a The Acman Street is, in the Cartularies, often called Bathway—“strata publica que appellatur Batheweie.” Carta Johis Bubbe fca Abbati et Conventum de Malm’. MS. Lansd. 417, fol. 182 b.

et per eandem aquam directe usque ad *Ciddemore*; ab eo usque *Morewelle*; ab eo a parte orientali et australi usque ad *blake þorne*; ab eo per capita iugerum directe usque *Wolgeres imere*; et ab eo a parte australi per metas usque *wincrondel*; ab eo usque *Elfheyes putte*; ab eo usque *Lutle borne*; ab eo a parte australi per stratam publicam de *Fosse* usque ad metas quae sunt de terra dominica per capita iugerum usque *Estmondestone*; ab eo directe a parte boreali de *saltherpe* usque *la slade*; ab eo usque *la pulle*; a parte boreali usque ad *Ellerne*; ab eo usque *dich gerstone*; et per eundem fossatum processu continuo usque *Chegghemwilles broke*; et per eundem riuulum usque *la dene*; ab eo usque ad stratam publicam; et per eandem processu continuo usque *Kemeles hage*; et ab eo usque *la smale weie*; et per eandem uiam usque *cruddesetene imere* directe per uiam maiorem quae extenditur usque ad fossatum a parte australi de *Chelewrðe*; ab eo per eundem fossatum usque *Wodeforde* processu continuo usque ad medium prati de *Medlege*; ab eo usque in *Stanlege*; ab eo usque in *Etingheles* ex parte australi; ab eo processu continuo usque *Deigetez heie*; ab eo usque *Colesleie* processu continuo usque *Trindlege*; et ab eo directe per sepem usque *Bradelege*; et a *Bradeleges heie* in *grauerugge* a parti australi; et ab eo processu continuo per uallem usque *wikke-dich*; et ab eo per sulcus aratri in altum sulcantis usque *smele weye*; et per eandem uiam usque *Primwaldes putte*; et ab eo usque ad *Crudeham wiles lake*; et per eundem riuum usque ad medium de *Pohamlege*; et ab eo usque *la sloge*, ab eo usque *de la dich*; et per eundem fossatum continue usque *wiðeres cumbe*; ab eo usque *Bradene broke*; et per eundem amnem usque *Eðerelfede imere* progressu continuo usque *wite gete*; ab eo usque *Boreglege*; ab eo usque *stretþen*; ab eo usque ad metam quae appell-þorn nuncupatur; et ab eodem ligno pomifero per stratam publicam usque *Woubourne*; et per eandem aquam progressu continuo usque *Geresbourne*; et per eundem amnem directo progressu usque *Ordwoldes wode* quod modo *Bradene* appellatur; et per idem nemus ad tria circiter miliaria usque ad metam quae *holehoke* appellatur; et ab eo per metas usque *Lindebourne*; et ab eo usque ad *Beðhamhamme* ad usque *idoure*; et per eandem continue aquam usque *limesule*; et ita per stratam usque *Coueres giet*; ab eo usque *sondheie*; ab eo usque ad metam de la scete quousque ueniat usque *dich*; et sic per eundem fossatum usque in *alueum aquae de Auene*.

Infra memoratos terrarum terminos est terra quae data fuit ad monachos Maldumesburgi uestiendos xxxii. hidas continens quae ante tempus regis Eadwii eisdem ad uestituram collata fuerat Et hii sunt termini x. hidarum pertinentium ad manerium de Brokeneberge quae sunt de centum hidis nominatis. Hoc est de *Suttone*. Imprimis ubi meta quae *Raheie* uocatur extenditur usque *Cutelwille*; et ab eo usque *merebrok*; et per eundem riuum usque in *Auene*; ab eo directe per alueum aquae processu continuo usque ad *segmede* a parte orientali usque *Brodewulle*.

Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 446.

23. EADGAR. Anno 974. Codex Dipl. No. DLXXXIV.—The ten manentes at Eastcotun given by Eadgar are stated to have been unjustly possessed by one Eðelnoð.

These land-limits commence at Primewaldes Pit, a place mentioned in the charter of Eadwig, and run northward to the locality still called the Inlands, between Chelworth and Crudwell, then eastward, by the mere, as far as the highway, to Notgrove, a field which still retains its name. Thence by the “wur-

welaue" to the little brook, and so by the stream to the "foul slowe;" then by the road up to the green way on the heath (Bruere), which appears to be the Green Lane within the manor of Minety. Then to "the old way," and so by the middle of the hanger as far as "wynes leye," and thence to Hykemores stream, a rivulet which retains its ancient name. Proceeding by this stream the boundary reaches Haylwyrtheslow, then running westerly by Braden Brook it successively reaches "the great withy," "the foule slo," and other land marks, which, since the inclosures, we can scarcely expect to identify. It then proceeds in a westerly direction to "cruddemeres lake," and so by the lake to the "Sunderhamme" (now called the Little Sindrams), towards the west by the little stream (riðe), then northward as far as the old ditch, and thence reached the place first named, *i.e.* Primwaldes Pit.

Hii sunt termini de Escote. Inprimis a loco *Primewaldes putte* uersus aquilonem usque *le mereweie*; et ab illo loco directe per *uiam* usque *le inlonde*; et tunc uersus orientem per *le inlondes mero* usque *braden* uel *brode weye* in parte aquilonari, uidelicet, ad *note grave*; et ab eodem per *wurwelaue* usque *smale broke*; et sic per *amnem* directe usque *foule slowe*; et ab eodem per *uiam* usque contra *uiridem uiam de la bruere*, et tunc uersus meridiem usque *le olde weye*; et sic per *medium hangre* usque *wynes leye*; et ab eodem usque *hykemeres streme*; et sic per *filum aquae haylwyrðeslew*; et tunc uersus occidentem per *bradene broke* usque *le grete wyðye*; et ab eodem usque *le foule slo*; et ab illo loco uersus meridiem usque in *le olde dich*; et ab eodem directe per *fossatum* usque *le deope slo*; et ab eodem usque *le olde weye*; et tunc per eandem *uiam* usque *pohanleye*, uidelicet, in medio; et ab eadem *leye*, uidelicet, a parte australi uersus occidentem usque *ad fossatum*; et ab eodem fossato uersus occidentem usque *cruddemores lake*; et sic per *la lake* directe usque *Sunderhamme*; et tunc ex parte australi illius pratelli quod appellatur *ðe souðer hamme* directe uersus occidentem per *la riðe* per spacium unius forlong; et per *capita illius forlong* directe uersus aquilonem usque *le olde dich*; et ab eodem fossato per *les akere heueden* usque ad locum primoscriptum, scilicet, *Primewaldes putte*.—Cod. Dipl. tom. iii. p. 467.

24. ÆLFHEAH. 965—975. Codex Dipl. No. DXCIII.—Ælfheah, by his will, bequeaths land to the Churches of Bath and Winchester, "and ðæra twæntiga hida at Ceorlatunæ into Mealdælmæs byrig."

25. ÆTHELRED. Anno 982. Codex Dipl. No. DCXXXII.—Ethelred, by this charter, gives to Christ and his Mother the Virgin, and the blessed St. Aldhelm, ten manentes at Rodbourne. The land limits are thus described:—

Inprimis a loco qui appellatur Rodburne usque fegeran thorne; et ab eadem spina directe per *la riðe* per *sceorte leye*; et sic per *la forches* usque *Sandweye*; et eadem via usque *sceorte grave*; et per *sceorte graue* usque *le wiðybedde*; et ab eodem usque *le heðene buryels*, vel *buriwell*; et sic super *Rolidone*; et ab eodem monte usque *le lever bedde*, in *beuedone*; et ab eodem loco usque

Coresbrok; et per Coresbrok usque in Avene; et per Avene usque henne pole; et ab henne pole usque le riðe burne; et ab eodem usque ad locum primo scriptum, scilicet, fegeram þorne.

Cod. Dipl. vol. iii. p. 187.

26. EADWEARD. Anno 1065. Codex Dipl. No. DCCCXVII.—This charter is a confirmation, reciting the possessions of the Abbey in the year previous to the Norman Conquest.

Subscribimus enim nomina terrarum et nomina eorum qui eas aecclesiae fideli deuotione contulerunt. Inprimis Newentuna ex dono Ædelredi regis, terra est xxx. hydarum sita ab occidentali parte strate publicae quae Fossa nominatur. Item Kemele, terra est xxx. hydarum, quarum ⁱⁱⁱⁱ^{or} sunt in Chellewrda; hanc terram dedit Aldhelmo abbati Ceadwalla rex; sita est in orientali plaga stratae publicae supranominatae. Item Pirituna, terra est xxxv. hidarum de orientali parte siluae quae dicitur Bradon; hanc dedit Chedwalla rex Aldhelmo abbati. Item Creddezilla, terra est xl. hidarum, de ista terra est Eastcotun, Honekynton, Morcotun; terram istam dedit Ædelwlfus rex christianissimus.

Item eadem aecclesia tenet *Cheorletuna*, terra est xx. hidarum; hanc dedit idem rex Ædelwlfus. Item *Dometesig*, terra est x. hidarum; hanc dedit idem rex Ædelwlfus. Item eadem aecclesia tenet *Wdetun*, terra est x. hidarum sita intra *siluam Bradon*; hanc dedit Ædelstanus rex uenerabilis aecclesiae *Maldunensi*. Item *Bremela* terra est xxxviii. hidarum, de ista terra est *Ywerig*, *Speerful*, *Chedecotun*, *Foxham*, *Auene*; terram istam dedit rex Ædelstanus. Item ex donatione ejusdem regis Ædelstanus ipsa aecclesia tenet *Nortuna* pro v. hidis, et *Sumerford* pro v. hidis. Item eadem aecclesia tenet *Brokenberge*, terra est L. hidarum;^a hanc dedit rex Ædwy; de hac eadem terra *Grutenham* pro i. hida. Et ex occidentali parte fluminis quod Avena nominatur et *Suttuna*^b pro x. hidis, *Rodburna* pro x. *Corstuna* pro x. *Cusfalde* pro iii. *Bremelham* pro ii. hidis. Item *Brinkewrda*, terra est v. hidarum; hanc dedit quidam uir nobilis Leofsi nomine. Item Hewy, terra est xi. hidarum; hanc dedit Ædelred rex. Item ipsa aecclesia tenet *Litletun*, terra est v. hidarum; hanc dedit Uuenodus Ædelredo rege suo annuente.

The land-limits which follow are taken from a Cartulary of the Abbey recently acquired by the British Museum. The corrupt form of the names which occur in them, renders their identification extremely difficult, if not impossible. They are thus described:—

Hii sunt termini terrae de Morcote. Inprimis per quādam lacum directe usque Bradenebrok, et per Bradenebrok directe usque la brode Wythie; et ab eodem loco directe per la slade et per suthe Linleye, uidelicet usque la akers brede; et de Linleye usque le foxole a mideward, uidelicet in medio; et ab eodem usque la putte; et de la putte usque poheleye, uidelicet in medio; et ab

^a The grant was originally 100 hides. (See the Grant of Edwig, No. 22.)

^b Sutton Benger. "This land was heretofore the Vineyard belonging to the abbey of Malmesbury; of which there is a recital in the grant of the manor by K. Henry VIII. to Sir — Long." Aubrey, Nat. Hist. of Wiltshire, ch. iv.

eodem usque widleye; et tunc directe per metam usque ad fossatum quod appellatur dicke; et ab eodem usque ocle, et ab ocle usque ad villam versus meridiem.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 15,667, fo. 34 a.

The spot indicated as "quandam lacum" may be recognised on the eastern side of the obscure village of Morcot, and Braden Brook still retains its name, as does the homestead Ocle (Oakwell?), but the inclosures have obliterated the other landmarks, and I cannot reconcile the Ocle named in these land-limits with that shown on the map.

Hii sunt tmini de Bremel. In primis a loco qui appt̃a Wrockumbe usq, m̃kendene, ⁊ de m̃kendene directe p̃ cursum aque usq, ad stratam; ⁊ ab eadem strata usq, Cadeburne; ⁊ a capite ejusdem burne directe usq, avene; ⁊ sic directe p̃ avene usq, Cristemaleford; ⁊ ab eodem loco recte usq, huckeam; et ab eodem usq, le grete trowe; ⁊ ab eodem loco usq, Sandsete, ⁊ sic usq, ad le Clif; et s̃c p̃ clivum usq, stizelweye; ⁊ ab eadem via usq, blakemomore;^a ⁊ ab eodem more usq, ad locum sup̃scriptum, videlicet Wrockumbe.

Cart. Abbat̃ie de Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 34 b.

Hii sunt tmini t̃re de Grutheham. In primis p̃ cursum aque directe usq, luddes worpe. Et ab eodem usq, Grute; ⁊ ab illo loco usq, axunes hurste, ⁊ sic p̃cedendo usq, duddingestolde; et ab eodem usq, kotes scede; ⁊ ab eodem loco usq, ferndoune, ⁊ sic usq, nohuc welle; ⁊ ab eodem p̃cedendo usq, ekgunes Gate; ⁊ ab eodem loco usq, lytle doune, et ab illo monte usq, Beran þoran, ⁊ sic usq, merke stoke; et ab eodem loco usq, syndhurst, ⁊ de syndhurst usq, rammestold; et ab eodem usq, muchele bourne; ⁊ ab eodem usq, perpeles welle; ⁊ ab eodem fonte usq, haepes mere, et de haepes mele^{re b} usq, langemere, ⁊ ab lange mere usq, utean Scyre.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 35.

Hii sunt termini terre de Brenkeworpe. In primis a loco qui appellatur sandehey, usq, eferes zete; et ab eodem loco directe p̃ la rode usq, dutte mores hey, ⁊ sic directe usq, Geresburne; ⁊ ab eodem bourne usq, fegeres trowe; ⁊ ab eodem directe p̃ la rode usq, le hole broke; et ab eodem usq, ydoure; ⁊ sic directe p̃ aq^m usq, in pte occidentali de mere broke p̃ longitudinem unius forlong, ⁊ sic p̃ caput ejusdem forlongi usq, hetingeshey; et ab eodem usq, ad locum primo scriptum sandehey. Preterea ad p̃d̃cam terram p̃tinent quinq, hyde jux^m terram de Cherleton ⁊ alia terra que appt̃atur le wode felde jux^m terram de Cleverdone.

Cart. Abb. Malmsb. Brit. Mus. Add. MS. No. 15,667, fol. 35.

Such were the possessions of the Abbey of Malmesbury to the end of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty. They exhibit, in a striking manner, the gradually increasing power of the hierarchy, from the introduction of Christianity down to the Norman Conquest, affording a significant commentary upon political events but dimly seen in the historical narratives which have been transmitted to us.

^a Sic.

^b Sic.

“Among the beneficial rights conveyed by these charters,” observes Mr. Kemble, “are common of pasture, estovers, and various advantages and easements derived from the position of the land; for instance, pasture for so many horses or swine in communi saltu, or a right of felling and carrying so many cartloads of wood in the same, the Norman *libertas fellandi et carriandi*; circumstances which, if for nothing else, would still deserve mention here, as evidence at how early a period the kings (the inheritors of the heathen priesthood in their power over the sacred woods and streams) made their authority valid over the march and common lands adjacent to the Gau.”^a

A comparison of the total amount of land comprised in these grants, with what remained at the time of the Domesday Survey, would be a task worthy of the antiquary; and if the foregoing recital should tempt others to undertake it, my labour will not have been misdirected. I have perambulated the greater part of these possessions, and visited districts which, though lying in the very heart of England, are little known to the topographer, and still less to the tourist. In some instances I have succeeded in identifying obscure localities, which still bear names by which they were known long before the Norman Conquest. While thus engaged I have wandered again into the track and revived the recollections of my boyhood, and by a more extended retrospect have pictured the scenes which were here presented when the religious houses existed in England. Vain, but venial, is the lament of one who lived in the succeeding age, while the prestige of monkery still survived its fall.

“This country,” says Aubrey, “was very full of religious houses; a man could not have travelled but he must have met monks, fryars, *bonnehommes*, &c. in their several habits, black, white, grey, &c. And the tingle-tangle of their convent bells, I fancy, made very pretty musick, like the college bells at Oxford.”

Again—“It is a sarcasm more malicious than true, commonly thrown at the church-men, that they had too much land; for their constitution being in truth considered, they were rather administrators of those great revenues to pious and publick uses than usu-fructuaries. As for themselves, they had only their habit and competent diet, every order according to their prescribed rule, from which they were not to vary. Then for their tenants, their leases were almost as good to them as fee-simple, and perchance might longer last in their families. Sir William Button (the father) hath often told me that Alton farm had been held by his ancestors from the Abbey of Winchester about four hundred years. The

^a Cod. Dipl. Ævi Saxon. Intr. vol. i. p. 12.

Powers of Stanton Quintin held that farm of the Abbey of Cirencester in lease three hundred years; and my ancestors, the Danvers, held West Tokenham for many generations, of the Abbey of Broadstock, where one of them was a prior.”^a

It is gratifying to find that the identification of our ancient landmarks is beginning to occupy the attention of the English antiquary. We are no longer under the old reproach—“lyncei foris, talpæ domi.” To those who are thus engaged the inquiry cannot fail to be attended with pleasure and profit. Their attentive study will infallibly increase our knowledge of the laws, manners, customs, and superstitions of our ancestors, and shed much light on the habits of generations which have passed away for ever. A fitter occupation cannot be devised for the recreation of the archæological student. There is a poetry, too, in our local nomenclature which all must have observed. The hill, the wold, the moor, and the stream, again appear as they existed before the accidents of time and the spread of civilization had changed their physical features; and, in the contemplation of the past, we can form an estimate of the progress we have made in our onward course. I say nothing of such combinations as Thunder Brook, Sunday’s Hill, and Friday Street, which are found in the map now exhibited, because I indulge the hope that they will ere long form the theme of a communication to this Society by a gentleman^b who can so well instruct us on the subject of the heathenism of our Saxon forefathers, and the grim precincts of the *Mark*.

Our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic are sensible of this charm in our local epithets. “The names are excellent,” observes an American essayist, “an atmosphere of legendary melody spread over the land. Older than all epics and histories, this undershirt sits close to the body. What history, too, and what stores of primitive and savage life it infolds!”^c

If then the fitness and significance of our local names have been thus recognised by one who is not bound to England by natural ties, we ought surely to find in them a source of agreeable retrospect and instruction, and a subject worthy our study and illustration.

^a “An Introduction to the Survey and Natural History of the North Division of the county of Wiltshire,” by J. Aubrey, Esq. *Miscellanies*, edit. 1857.

^b Mr. J. M. Kemble. Alas for human hopes and expectations! While these sheets were passing through the press, the hand of death has quenched for ever the light that has so often illumed our path in these and kindred researches!

^c Emerson, *English Traits*, p. 101. 8vo. Lond. 1856.

The following Rent-roll exhibits the possessions of the Abbey in the 12th year of Edward II. (?) It is valuable as a mere list of names of families settled in North Wilts, but still more so as a record of the revenue of a monastic establishment at this period, and as affording an idea of the population in the several districts in which these possessions were situated.

EXTRACT from the CARTULARY of the ABBEY of MALMESBURY, in the CUSTODY of the RIGHT HONOURABLE the MASTER of the ROLLS, pursuant to the Statute 1 and 2 VICTORIA, cap. 94. (Fol. 77—93.)

Rotulus redditualis factus de omnibus maneriis abbathie Malmesbur' ptinent', anno regni Regis E. xij^o.

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | S'c'i Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| KEMELE. | | | | |
| Pro Wýnterbourne | | | vj.đ. | |
| De Roġo le Marescal | iiij.đ.ob. | iiij.đ.ob. | iiij.đ.ob. | iiij.đ.ob. |
| De Thoma Scolas | vj.s.iiij.đ. | vj.s.iiij.đ. | vj.s.iiij.đ. | vj.s.iiij.đ. |
| De Joġe de Wýntone | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Dionis la frye | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Thoma de la Wýke | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. |
| De Wiffo Gerard | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. |
| De Walfo North | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Joġe pposito | ij.s.vj.đ.ō.đ ^u . | ij.s.vj.đ.ō.đ ^u . | ij.s.vj.đ.ō.đ ^u . | ij.s.vj.đ.ō.đ ^u . |
| De Milone de Wýke | viiij.đ.ob. | viiij.đ.ob. | viiij.đ.ob. | viiij.đ.ob. |
| De Rogero de Cerneye | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Edith Spigernel | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Joġe de Auste | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Wiffo Aylwýne | xj.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Gunnild la Rede | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Aliġ de Doggedich | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Joġe le Red | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Nicho Edrich | ij.s.ix.đ. | ij.s.ix.đ. | ij.s.ix.đ. | ij.s.ix.đ. |
| De Luca le Egede | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Joġe de Cerneye | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Thom le Red | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Walfo de Auste | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Roġo le Vithelare | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Roġto de Doggedich | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Joġe Wixi | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Aliġ molendinař | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Walfo Wodeprest | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . |
| De Wiffo de Wýke | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . | ob.đ ^u . |

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | S'e'i Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| De Matild la Rede . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Juliañ de Angulo . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Johe Herewý . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De felicia Snel . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De laurenč Sturewowe . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Ričo Sebern . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Matild in la Hele . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Edith la Mounere . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Thoma de Auste . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Johe le Akerman . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Henř Snel . . . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | oḃ.ḡ ^{ac} . | |
| De Johe molendinař . . . | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. |
| De Roḃto le Rede . . . | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. |
| | Sḡ ^{ac} .xxxij.s. | Sḡ ^{ac} .xxxij.soř. | Sḡ ^{ac} .xxxij.s. | Sḡ ^{ac} .xxxj.s. |
| | ix.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | vij.đ.oḃ. | ij.đ.oḃ. |

TENENTES TERRAM QUONDAM PERSONE.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| De Johe pposito . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Roḡo de Cerneýe . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Witto Aylwýne . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Alič Gunnild . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Witto Gerard . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Johe de Cerneýe . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Walřo de Auste . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Walřo molendinař . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Roḃto le Irmangař . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Johe Wolrich . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| | Sḡ ^{ac} .viiij.s.v.đ. | Sḡ ^{ac} .viiij.s.v.đ. | Sḡ ^{ac} .viiij.s.v.đ. | Sḡ ^{ac} .viiij.s.v.đ. |

EWLME.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| De Witto Vincent . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Thom de Albo molend . . . | iiij.s.vj.đ. | iiij.s.vj.đ. | iiij.s.vj.đ. | iiij.s.vj.đ. |
| De Thoma Elýs . . . | xix.đ.oḃ. | xix.đ. | xix.đ. | xix.đ. |
| De Vincencio . . . | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. |
| De Adam de Bathoñ . . . | xix.đ.oḃ. | xix.đ. | xix.đ. | xix.đ. |
| De Huḡ Aldwýne . . . | xviiij.đ.oḃ. | xviiij.đ.ō. | xviiij.đ.ō. | xviiij.đ.ō. |
| De Walřo de Molend . . . | iiij.soř. | iiij.soř. | iiij.soř. | iiij.soř. |
| De Juliañ la Carpenře . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Henř Blaunchard . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Agñ la Irmangař . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Roḡo Hogeman . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Agnete en la Hele . . . | viiij.đ.ō. | viiij.đ.ō. | viiij.đ.ō. | viiij.đ. |

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | S'c'i Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| De Roſto Harding . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Edith Aldwyne . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Thoñ Tredegold . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Edith la Stronge . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto fit Henř . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Roſto de Ponte . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Johe de Ponte . . . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de la Pýrie . . . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ.q ^u . | iiij.đ. |
| De Thoma de Aqua . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Ničo West . . . | xj.đ. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Ričo de Hanendone . . . | xj.đ. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Johe le Mey . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Roſo de Fonte . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Alič de la Pleystude . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de la Pleystede . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto le Jeune . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de la Lake . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto le Chepmañ . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Agnete de Doggedich ⁹ . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de la Chereche . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |
| De Hugoñ de fraxino . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. |

S^m.xxxij.s.vj.đ.ō. S^m.xxxij.s.ō. S^m.xxxij.s.ō. S^m.xxxj.s.

S^m toci⁹ Redđ s^ci Mich. lxx.s. iiij.đ. S^m toci⁹ Redđ s^ci Andř. lxiiij.s. ij.đ. S^m toci⁹ Redđ Annunč. lxiiij.s. vij.đ. S^m toci⁹ Redđ s^ci Joh. lxij.s. ij.đ. oñ. S^m toci⁹ Redđ de Kemele p^r Redđ de ęra psone, xij.řj. xvj.s. iiij.đ. o. Inde percipit Coq¹nař et pitanč singlis ęminis, vij.s. Iřm Coq¹nař in festo s^ci Mich. v.s. Et in festo Annunč. v.s. Et sic soluit de claro ad scaccariū abbtis. In festo s^ci Mich. liij.s. j.đ. In festo s^ci Andř. lv.s. xj.đ. In festo Annunč. liij.s. vij.đ. In festo s^ci Joh. liij.s. xj.đ. o. S^m toci⁹ Redđ p ęra psone, xxxiiij.s. vij.đ. De Turno s^ci Martini, xvij.s. De Turno de la Hokeday, xvij.s. De annuo dono, lxxvj.s. vij.đ. S^m v.řj. ij.s. vij.đ. S^m Galliñ de Cherechs. lxx. et dant in alfo anno p v. min⁹. De Redđ Galliñ ad Nař xlv. S^m ouoř ad Pasch .m. et iiij^o. Dař de virğ .xx. De dimiđ vgař .x. De lundinař .v.

Rotulus redditualis de Creddeweř fcs anno regni regis E. duodecimo.

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | S'c'i Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------|------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| De Ničo de Porta . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Richero le Bedel . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Regiñ Springald . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Ričo de Angulo . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Milone de Cleje . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | S'e'i Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------|
| De Walto South . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Henř South . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Agnete Niweman . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Sýmoñ de Wodewike . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Sýmoñ fit Helene . . . | viiij.đ.ō. | viiij.đ.ō. | vj.đ. | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Witto fabro . . . | v.đ.ō.đ ^u . | v.đ.ō.đ ^u . | v.đ.ō.đ ^u . | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Johe Alneth . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |
| De Maria relictā Sampsoñ . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |
| De Marč la Coliare . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |
| De Reginald Josep . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |
| De Johe Matheu . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |
| De Juliañ Bouetoun . . . | ođ. | ođ. | ođ. | |

WESTCREDEWELLE.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| De Johe Boye . . . | ij.š. | ij.š. | ij.š. | ij.š. |
| De Witto Edwý . . . | vj.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Johe Broun . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Galfrido le Cuf . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Witto Elýs . . . | xxvj.đ.đ ^u . | xxvj.đ.đ ^u . | xxvj.đ.đ ^u . | xxij.đ.ođ. |
| De molendino . . . | x.sot. | . | x.sot. | |
| | Sñ ^u .xx.š.ō. | Sñ ^u .ix.š.x.đ.ō. | Sñ ^u .xvij.sot.ij.đ. | Sñ ^u .iiij.š.x.đ.ođ. |

De Agneř de Hundt.

De Regiñ de Bradefeld.

De Walto le Scot.

CHELLEWORTHE.

| | | | | |
|--|---|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| De Johe de Bradenstoke . . . | iiij.š.vj.đ. | vij.đ.ō. | | |
| De Ľra q ^o ndam Siluestri . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Ľra q ^o ndam le Hoğ . . . | viiij.đ. | | | |
| De Ričo Payn . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Johe de la Lane . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Witto Arnald . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ođ. | ij.đ. |
| De Henř Wýgewold . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ođ. | |
| De Rošto Red . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Agatha Aylmere . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Galfrido de Chelewrth . . . | ix.đ.đ ^u . | ix.đ. | v.đ.ō. | vj.đ.ō. |
| De Isabeř de Chelewrth . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ođ.đ ^u . | |
| De Agnete la Longe . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| | Sñ ^u .x.š.j.đ.đ ^u . | Sñ ^u .v.š.vj.đ.ođ. | Sñ ^u .iiij.š.ij.đ.ō.đ ^u . | Sñ ^u .ij.š.viiij.đ.ođ. |

De t'mino Sancti

Michaelis.

S'c'i Andree.

Annūciacōis.

Johannis.

MORCOTE.

| | | | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| De Reginaldo Bernard . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Matild Doun . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Arnald de Morcote . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Elyā le Wȳn . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Isabeſt le Oter . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Walſo Messorē . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Agnete vidua . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Witto Daungeir . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Regiñ Selewȳne . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Henř Doun . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| | S ^m .xij.s.j.đ | S ^m .xii.s.j.đ. | S ^m .x.s. | S ^m .vij.s.vj.đ. |

ESTCOTE.

| | | | | |
|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|
| De Galfrid le Archer . . . | ij.s. | | | |
| De Walſo de Ba . . . | ij.s.x.đ.ō. | ij.s.x.đ.ō. | ij.s.x.đ.ō. | ij.s.x.đ. |
| De Walſo de Bradenebrok ⁹ . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Roġo in la More . . . | x.đ.ō. | x.đ.ō. | vij.s.vj.đ.ō. | ix.đ. |
| De Regiñ le Wȳte . . . | xxij.đ.ō. | xxij.đ.ō. | xx.đ. | xix.đ. |
| De Thoma Bonenfaunt . . . | ij.đ. | | | |
| De Arnaldo Est . . . | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |

De ſra SCHORTEWAY.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|-----------|----------|
| De Witto Pouke . . . | ij.s. | ij.s. | ij.s. | ij.s. |
| De Witto Dunpory . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Roġo de Cimiſio . . . | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. |
| De Riċo Hamund . . . | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. | xx.đ. |
| De Juliañ la Bartur . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Raċo Red . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Isabella Serich . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Walſo Hamund . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Rob ⁹ to Serich . . . | v.đ. | v.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | j.đ. |
| De Raċo Waye . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Emma Red . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | vj.đ. |
| De Johe le Fader . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | x.đ. |
| De Juliañ la Bartur . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Witto Clement . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Henř de Schowelle . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | viiij.đ. |
| De Johe le Suriman . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Robto Helewȳs . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | ij.đ. |

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|------------|---------|---------------------|-----------|
| De Ričo le Wýse | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Wiſto fit Alič | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Roĝo Matheu | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Isabeſt relicť Edward | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ob.ġ ^u . | |
| De Rađo de Bosco | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Agath de Bosco | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| S ^m .xxiiij.ſ.j.. S ^m .xx.ſ.xj.. S ^m .xxiiij.ſ.viiij.ġ ^u . S ^m .xvj.ſ.iiij.đ. | | | | |

YKEMERE.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| De Galfrido le Flynt | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Rođto le Paumer | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Richeť le Porter | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |

HANEKINTONE.

| | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| De terra Nobeloth | v.ſ. | v.đ. | | |
| De Juliana de Hurdleýe | iiij.ſ. | | | |
| De Tota villa | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Wiſto fit ppositi | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. |
| De Ričo Vppehule | v.đ.ġ ^u . | v.đ.ġ ^u . | v.đ.ġ ^u . | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Wiſto fabro | v.đ.ġ ^u . | v.đ.ġ ^u . | v.đ.ġ ^u . | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Wiſto Malone | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Henť Bernard | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Wiſto Leueslane | xiiij.đ.ō. | xiiij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Jordano de Dounhuſt. | | | | |
| De Adam de Dounhulle | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ob. | |
| De Rođto de Mora | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Agū relicť le Fox | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Galfr Vppehuſt | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Margia Vppehuſt | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| Deddam Halfmark | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Emma de la Forde | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Rođto de la Forde | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Rođto le Mey | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Arnaldo de la Forde | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Henť de Mordone | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | vj.đ. |
| De Wiſto de Mordone | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Wiſto le Cuf | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Johe de Pýritone | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | j.đ.ō. | vj.đ. |
| De Juliañ Patýn | vj.đ. | | vj.đ. | |
| S ^m .xviiij.ſ.ix.đ.ō. S ^m .x.ſ.viiij.đ.ō. S ^m .vj.ſ.iiij.đ. S ^m .v.ſ.iiij.đ.ō. | | | | |

| De t'mino Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|-----------------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| CLOTLEYE. | | | | |
| De Roſto Calston . . . | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Roſto Broun . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Wiſto le Bor . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Ričo Alderman . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Ričo le Bor . . . | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Ričo le Cuf . . . | oſ. | oſ. | oſ. | |
| De Roġo le Alderman . . . | oſ. | oſ. | oſ. | |
| De Henř Katelyne . . . | oſ. | oſ. | oſ. | |
| De Wiſto Colewyne . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| Item de eodem . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Rađ Mýdewin ^l . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Wiſto de Puteo . . . | j.đ.oſ. | j.đ.oſ. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Wiſto le Sýnegare . . . | oſ. | oſ. | oſ. | |
| De Johe le Bird . . . | oſ. | oſ. | oſ. | |

S^m.iiij.s.iiij.đ.oſ. S^m.iiij.s.iiij.đ.oſ. S^m.iiij.s.iiij.đ.oſ. S^m.ij.s.ix.đ.

S^m toci^o Redđ sčī Mich, iiij.ti.vij.s.iiij.đ. ō.ŕ. p^l Redđ pitanciař sup^o.

S^m tocius Redđ sčī Andree, lxij.s.v.đ. pre^l Redđ pitanč ut supra.

S^m toci^o Redđ Annunciačonis, lxiiij.s.vij.đ. oſ. p^l Redđ pitanč ut sup^o.

S^m toci^o Redđ sčī Johis, xxxix.s.vj.đ. oſ. p^l ut supra.

S^m tocius Redđ de Creddeweſt, xij.ti.xiiij.s.xj.đ. oſ. De Turno sčī Martini, xlj.s.viiij.đ. De Turno de la Hockedaŷ, xlj.s.viiij.đ. De annuo dono, v.ti.iiij.s.v.đ. Q^a pitanč pcipit, ij.s. S^m, ix.ti.viiij.s.

S^m Gallinař Cherecset^l, vj^{xx}.vj. S^m Gaſt de Redđ ad Natař, iiij^{xx}.vj. Pro feugera de flusrigge, xv. S^m ouoŷ ad Paſch, m.vj^c.xlvi., per maius, c. Dař de virġ, xx., de dimiđ virġ, x. De Lundinař, v.

Redditus pitanciař de Creddeweſt.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|----------------------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| De Henř Broun . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. |
| De Roſto le Gouk . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de Puteo . . . | j.đ.oſ. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Johe de Puritoň . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Sýmoň fiť Helene . . . | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De řra q ^o ndā Regiň capłni . . . | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Wiſto de Thekedoň . . . | xviiij.đ. 7 j. libř pipis. | | | |
| De Johe de Hanekýntoň. | | | | |

S^m.iiij.s.viiij.đ.oſ. S^m.iiij.s.ij.đ.oſ. S^m.iiij.s.ij.đ.oſ. S^m.iiij.s.ij.đ.oſ.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| Redditus Coquinař de Galfřo de Morle p Southbrech | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |

Redditus Sacriste in Creddeweſt.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------------------------------|---------|
| De Regiñ Selewýne . . . | xij.ſ. | De Robto Doun . . . | xij.ſ. |
| De Nicho le Bartur . . . | xx.ſ. | De Wiſto Carniſiĉ junioř . | v.ſ. |
| De Riĉo le Palmare . . . | v.ſ. | De Wiſto Carniſiĉ ſenioř . | iiij.ſ. |
| De Galfř de Chelewrth . . . | iiij.ſ. | De Nicho le Tayllur . . . | xvj.đ. |
| De Wiſto Daunger . . . | xij.đ. | Item de Wiſto Carniſiĉ junioř . | iiij.ſ. |

S^m Redd Sacriste in Creddewelle, lxv.ſ.iiij.đ.

Redditus lib(e)roz de Creddeweſt.

| | | |
|--|---------|---------|
| De ěra q nd ā R. de Bradefeld . . . | ij.ſ. | ij.ſ. |
| De Walřo le Scot . . . | ix.đ. | |
| De Agñ de Hundlauintoñ . . . | iiij.ſ. | iiij.ſ. |

Rotulus redditualis fcs de Cherletoñ, anno regni Regis E. duodecimo.

| | Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|------------|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| Gauelmā. | De Wybto de Ch ^o letoñ . . . | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. |
| | De Arnaldo de Pýro . . . | vj.đ. | x.đ.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| | De Edith de la Lupe . . . | vj.đ. | x.đ.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| | De Galfř le Paumer . . . | xiiij.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xiiij.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xiiij.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xiiij.đ. |
| | De Juliañ de la Hethe . . . | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| | De Adam de la Hethe . . . | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| | De Johe Fabro . . . | xv.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xv.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xv.đ.đ.đ.đ. ^{q^u} | xv.đ. |
| | De Wiſto Atthedichende . . . | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | iiij.đ.đ. | ij.đ. |
| | De Johe le Hattare . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. |
| | De Elyā de molendiñ . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| | De Sonderlond . . . | vij.ſ.vij.đ.đ. | | | |
| | De Roğ le Oūe Niweman . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| Virgatarū. | De Riĉo Ewestas . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Galfř le Pýk . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Roğo Niweman . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Rađo de Ouorde . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Huğ Cole . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Wiſto le Ridare . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Robto le Gag . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De eodē q ^u apud Gabulum . . . | ij.ſ.iiij.đ. | ij.ſ.iiij.đ. | ij.ſ.iiij.đ. | ij.ſ.iiij.đ. |
| | De Roğo le Kýng . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Wiſto de la Lupe . . . | vj.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | j.đ.đ. | |
| | De Roğo de Radeweýe . . . | ođ.đ. ^{q^u} | ođ.đ. ^{q^u} | ođ.đ. ^{q^u} | |

| | Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|--|--|---|------------------------|-----------|
| Akermā. | De Wiſſo Steuene | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Roḡo le Treys | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Roḅto le Noble | iiij.đ.ō.ḡ ^u . | j.đ.ḡ ^u . | j.đ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo Rodeman | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | j.đ.ō.ḡ ^u . | j.đ.ō.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo Ordriċ | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Roḡo de Toghulle | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Gaſſr de Toghulle | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Johanna la Wýte | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Huḡ de Toghulle | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| Dimidia ūgataz. | De Edward le Bor | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo de la Lane | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Adam de Benhuſſ | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Riċo de Benhulle | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo de Wodeford | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Walſo de Wodeford | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Henr Gorebagge | iiij.đ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Roḡo de la More | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo de Radeweýe | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Wiſſo le Cartare | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | oḅ.ḡ ^u . | |
| | De Johe Cole | oḅ. | oḅ. | oḅ. | |
| | De Walſo le Buriman | oḅ. | oḅ. | oḅ. | |
| | De Walſo le Bonde | oḅ. | oḅ. | oḅ. | |
| | De Wiſſo de Scalera | oḅ. | oḅ. | oḅ. | |
| | De Wiſſo de Radeweýe | oḅ. | oḅ. | oḅ. | |
| | Sḡ ^u Redd ſci Mich .xxv.ſ.ix.đ.ō.ḡ ^u . | | Sḡ ^u Redd ſci Andree .xij.ſ.viiij.đ. | | |
| Sḡ ^u Redd Annunciaċois .xj.ſ.xj.đ. | | Sḡ ^u Redd ſci Johis .viiij.ſ.viiij.đ. | | | |
| Sḡ ^u tocius Redd le Cherletone .lix.ſ.oḅ.ḡ ^u . | | | | | |
| De Turno ſci Martini .xiiij.ſ.iiij.đ. | | De Turno de la Hockeday .xiiij.ſ.iiij.đ. | | De annuo dono .xl.ſ. | |
| | | Sḡ ^u .lxvj.ſ.viiij.đ. | | | |
| Sḡ ^u Galliñ de Cherechsetċ .lxix. anno regni Reḡ xij°. Et dant in alſo anno min ^o p xiiij. Sḡ ^u Gaſt de Redd ad Natale .xxxvj. Sḡ ^u ouoḡ ad Paſċ .cccc. et x. p mai ^o c. Daċ de virḡ .xx. De j.đ. virḡ .x. De lunidaċ .v. | | | | | |

Rotulus redditualis fcs de Fulinge anno regni Regis E. xij°.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| De Johe le Brech . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Johe Blakemor . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Thoma Topas . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Adam de Gosemere . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| De Thoma Dunnig . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Adam le Paumer . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Ričo Ingram . . . | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. |
| De Johe Vmbald . . . | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. |
| De Johe Treýpas . . . | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. |
| De Roĝo le Niweman . . . | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. |
| De Roĝo fit Nicki . . . | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. | iiij.s. |
| De Cristiñ de Wýtechurche . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Thoma Topas . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Terra Galfr Wýgun . . . | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. |

S^m Redd s^ci Michis .xxv.s.vij.đ.ō.

S^m Redd s^ci Andree .xxv.s.vij.đ.ō.

S^m Redd Annunciaōis .xxv.s.vij.đ.ō.

S^m Redd s^ci Johis .xxv.s.vij.đ.ō.

S^m tocius Redd de Fulinge .v.iiij.s.vj.đ.

Rotulus reddituat fcs de Puritone anno regni Regis E. duodecimo.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--------------------------------|------------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| De Wiffo de la Lupe . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Henř de la Hulle . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Wiffo Lȳnyot . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Johe de Radestrop . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Ričo de Peuenhulle . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Roĝo de Pole . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Rađo de Peuenhulle . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Alič de Hoggeslane . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Matild Relicī Giliḡti . . . | xv.đ. | xj.đ. | xiiij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Johe le Gode . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Alič Basely . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Walfo Donnýng . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Henř le Mop . . . | xv.đ. | xj.đ. | xiiij.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Adam Schýrwold . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Wiffo le Cur . . . | xij.đ. | viiij.đ. | x.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Wiffo Perýs . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Walfo Wateforde . . . | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Johe Wecche . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Wiffo de Hustede . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Matild Wreanne . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Thoma le Hog . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Walfo le Buriman . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Ričo le Mop . . . | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|
| De Henř Alfred | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Rořto de la Forde | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Rořto Cobbe | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Thoma Blakeman | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Adam le Hog | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Joře Angewýne | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Adam Alwý | iiij.đ. | j.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Adam Blakeman | vj.đ. | ij.đ. | iiij.đ. | |
| De Adam de la Forde | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Galfř Paýnel | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. | xxj.đ. |
| De Thoma Balle | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Joře Wecche | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Ričo de Wýdyhuřf | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Giliřto le Coliare | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Ričo le Cur | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Adam fabro | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Wiffo Garleck | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Henř le iard | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Walřo Sodemer | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Scolacia | oř. | ř ^u . | ř ^u . | |
| De Henř le Lutle | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. |
| De Rađo molend | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |

S^m Redđ s^ci Michis .xxij.s.vij.đ.

S^m Redđ Annūciacōis .xviij.s.vj.đ.ō.ř^u.

S^m Redđ s^ci Andř .xxiiij.s.v.đ.ō.ř^u.

S^m Redđ s^ci Johis .x.s.iiij.đ.ō.

De dño Joře Walerond xj.s.

De Joře Wrenche iiij.s.vij.đ. iiij.s.vij.đ. iiij.s.vij.đ.

De Joře le frye xij.đ. xij.đ. xij.đ. xij.đ.

De Rořto Waleýs xij.đ. xij.đ. xij.đ. xij.đ.

S^m.xvj.s.vij.đ. S^u.v.s.vij.đ. S^u.v.s.vij.đ. S^u.v.s.vij.đ.

S^m toci^o Redđ s^ci Mich .xxxix.s.iiij.đ.

S^m toci^o Redđ s^ci Andř .xx.s.oř.ř^u.

S^m toci^o Redđ Annūciacōis .xxiiij.s.j.đ.ō.ř^u.

S^m toci^o Redđ s^ci Joh .xv.s.xj.đ.ō.

S^m tocius Redđ de puritoř .iiij.li.xix.s.v.đ.

De Turno s^ci Martini xvij.s. De Turno de la Hockeday xvij.s. De annuo dono xl.s.

S^m lxxvj.s.

S^m Galliř de Cherechsetř iiij^{xx}. S^m Galf de Redđ ad Natale xlij. S^m ouoř ad Páscha

v^e et v. p maius c. Dař ut sup^u.

Rotulus redditualis factus de Bremel anno regni Regis E. duodecimo.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| De Jordano de Chippenham . | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Henř de Puteo . . . | iiij.s. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.iiij.đ. |
| De Jordano le Barbur . . . | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. | ix.đ. |
| De Johe Beneyt . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Henř Sodel . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Ričo Frankelaŷn . . . | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Rošto Hereberd . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Terra le Eyr . . . | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Cristina la Daye . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Adam le Carpenter . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. |
| S ^m .vij.s.xj.đ.ō. S ^m .vij.s.v.đ.ōb. S ^m .vij.s.v.đ.ōb. S ^m .vij.s.ō. | | | | |

HASSELHOLTE.

| | | | | |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| De Henř Godefray . . . | xiiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Johe le Bothwebbe . . . | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Elýa le Ouere . . . | v.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Elýa le Nethere . . . | v.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Alič de Fraxino . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Wiffo longo . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ. | vij.đ.ō. |
| S ^m .iiij.s.ij.đ. S ^m .ij.s.vj.đ. S ^m .ij.s.vj.đ. S ^m .xxiiij.đ.ōb. | | | | |

WIKE.

| | | | | |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| De terra le Tout . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Roĝo de la Wyke . . . | ij.s.viiij.đ. | ij.s.viiij.đ. | ij.s.viiij.đ. | ij.s.viiij.đ. |
| De Johe le Fowel . . . | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Petro Wýtŷng . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. |
| De Adam Pýe . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Johe le Mop . . . | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Wiffo le Locare . . . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vj.đ. |
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| De Wiffo Tellŷng . . . | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Walfo Keuechoup . . . | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Henř le Stubbare . . . | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Wiffo Springod . . . | Nich. | | | |
| De Wiffo de Bamtoñ . . . | xj.đ. | xj.đ. | xj.đ. | x.đ. |
| De Gilib ^o to le Kýng . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
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| De Arnaldo le Bartur . . . | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | |
| De Wiffo fit Huĝ . . . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |

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| De Johe filio Emme . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Wiffo le Akerman . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
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| De Adam Anethewardtoun . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Henř Sýward . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Wiffo Sceorre . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Matild la Nýwe . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Elena Daunger . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
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| De Wiffo Petyt . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Thoñ de Punfold . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Henř le Kýng . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Robto Bouetouñ . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
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| De Cristina Royllý . . . | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xv.đ. |
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| De Wiffo le Twýnt . . . | oĥ. | oĥ. | oĥ. | |
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| De Adam Vnderdounē . . | xxj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xij.đ. |
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| De Arnaldo le Byke . . . | vj.đ.ō.ſ.ſ. | vj.đ.ō.ſ.ſ. | vj.đ.ō.ſ.ſ. | vj.đ.ō.ſ.ſ. |
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| De Ričo fabro . . . | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. |
| De Roſto Býssop . . . | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. |
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| De Thoñ le Deue . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
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| De Walſo le Note . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. |
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| De Alič la Slýthe . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Roberto le Butiler. | | | | |
| De Adam de la Forrheye . | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ. |
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| De Johe le Kýng . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
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| De Adam Mondegome . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Margia Terrý . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Isabella vidua . . . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. |
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| | De Regiñ Basely . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Michaele le Soppes . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Alič Wodecockes . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Walſo Hereberd . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Hawyř Relicř Petri . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Rađo le Dēkene . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Ričo Guldýng . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Johe Wolneth . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Johe de Pundfolde . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Johe Wýth . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Thoma le Wýte . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Rađo Gunnild . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Isabeſſ Seward . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Wiſſo de Clýne . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
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| | De Godwýno de Scalera . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
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| | De Raðo Bernewý . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Raðo le Frend . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Roðto de Puteo . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Roðo le Jeuene . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Wiffo Wýtman . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
| | De Roðo Býnorthebrok . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
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| | De Riço le Duck . . . | j.đ. | xvij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. |
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| | De Wiffo Spileman . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
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| | De Roðto de la Cleýe . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Henř Wolneth . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Alič Relicē ppositi . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Riço Eadwýne . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |

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| De Wiſſo Ewestas . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. & iij.buſ.faſ. | |
| De Ričo fiſ Hugoñ . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Wiſſo de Wýtherslade . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Eua Relicť Huġ . . . | vj.đ. & j.vom. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
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| De Ričo de Heýgarstoñ . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Adam de Scalera . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
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| De Matild Wýpet . . . | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
| De Johe Seward . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Roſto le Jeuene . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Roſto Býssop . . . | vij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | j.đ.ō. |
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| De Wiſſo Eode . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Wiſſo Rýglowe . . . | xij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Adam fiſ Stephi . . . | xij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Petro Vppehulle . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Wiſſo de la Were . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| De Johe Wýmund . . . | xij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Henř Welwýne . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Regiň Dreu . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Wiřto de Cýmiřto . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Edwardo Eode . . . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | j.đ. |
| De Adam Rýngston . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |

S^m Redd s^ci Michis .xxij.s. .vij.đ.ō.

S^m Redd s^ci Andř .x.s. .ij.đ.ō.

S^m Redd Annūciacōis .vij.s. .ix.đ.ō.

S^m Redd s^ci Johis .vij.s. .vij.đ.ō.

BORUTHONE.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| De Ričo Pýnnok . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De Terra Turketil . . . | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. |
| De Petro de Caldecote . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Adam Herýng . . . | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ.ō. |
| De Cecilia Daniel . . . | ij. sclab ^b ferri uel iiij.đ. | | | |
| De Wiřto de Caldicote . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Johe řit Arnaldí . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Johe Woderoue . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Felicia la Coliare . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Matild la Paumerř . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Ričo de Colerne . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Rořto Nýthegale . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Johe le Cartare . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Isabeř Pýnnok . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De David de Thornhuřt . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |
| De Rořto le Coliare . . . | oř. | oř. | oř. | |

S^m .ij.s.xj.đ.ō. S^m .ij.s.vij.đ.ō. S^m .ij.s.vij.đ.ō. S^m .ij.s.j.đ.ō.

S^m toci^o Redd s^ci Mich .liij.s. .ix.đ.

S^m toci^o Redd s^ci Andř .xxv.s. .j.đ.

S^m toci^o Redd Annūciacōis .xxij.s. .vij.đ.

S^m toci^o Redd s^ci Joh .xix.s. .vij.đ.ō.

S^m toci^o Redd de Coufaude .vj.ři. .ij.s. .j.đ.ō.

De Turno s^ci Martini .xxxj.s. .vij.đ.

De Turno de la Hokeday .xxxj.s. .vij.đ. De annuo dono .lxvj.s. .vij.đ. S^m tocius .vj.ři. .x.s.

S^m Gař de Cherechsett .lij. & dant alřo anno p .iiij. minus. S^m Gař de Redd ad Natale .lx.

S^m ouoř ad Pasch .xj.^c. p mai^o c. dař.

De molend de Coubrigge . . .

x.s.

x.s.

S^m Redd Coquinař .xx.s.

De terra q^ondam le frye . . .

ij.s.vj.đ.

ij.s.vj.đ.

ij.s.vj.đ.

ij.s.vj.đ.

S^m Redd pitanciař .x.s.

Rotulus redditualis fcs de NORTHONE, anno regni regis E. xij^o.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--------------------------------|------------|---------|--------------|-----------|
| De Goce Scarlet . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Johe le Frye . . . | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Rohto le Schotel . . . | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| De Petro le Hane . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Johe le Thonge . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| Item de eodem . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Johe Gorewý . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Johe le Gossýp . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Wiffo le Carpenter . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Wiffo le Thyerdlyng . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Johe Gileberd . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Adam le Buriman . . . | vj.đ. | j.đ. | | |
| De Ričo Doun . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Stepno Doun . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Johe le Mey . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Ričo le Plefare . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Wiffo le Holdýng . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Alicia de la Gere . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Johe West . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Johe Red . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Wiffo Seman . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Ničo West . . . | iiij.đ. | ođ. | | |
| De Wiffo Wrytheloc . . . | ođ. | | | |
| De Hugoñ de Scalera . . . | ođ. | | | |
| De Richeman le Schýrreue . . . | ođ. | | | |
| De Johe le Akerman . . . | ođ. | | | |

S^m Redd s^ci Michis .x.s. .vj.đ.

S^m Redd Annunciaōis .iiij.s. .iiij.đ.

S^m toci^o Redd de Nortoñ .xxiiij.s. .vj.đ.

De Turno de la Hockeday .viiij.s.

S^m Gañ de Cherechsetf .xx.

S^m ouoꝝ ad Pasch .cc. & xl. p mai^o .c. Dañ ut sup^a.

S^m Redd s^ci Andree .v.s. .iiij.đ.

S^m Redd s^ci Johis .iiij.s. .iiij.đ.

De Turno s^ci Martini .viiij.s.

De annuo dono .xx.s. S^m .xxxvj.s.

De Redd Gañ ad Natale .xviij.đ.

NUWENTONE. Rotulus redditual fcs de Nuwentone, anno regni regis E. duodecimo.

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| De Adam de la Graue . . . | ij.s. | ij.s. | ij.s. | ij.s. |
| De Walfo Iue . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ.đ ^a . | vj.đ.đ ^a . | vj.đ.đ ^a . |
| De Wiffo de Ponte . . . | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. |

| | Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|-----------|----------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| | De Wiffo de Grenhulle . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . |
| | De Matild de albo monastio . . . | vj.đ. | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . | vj.đ.ḡ ^u . |
| | De Wiffo Partrých . . . | . | vij.s.vj.đ. | . | vij.s.vj.đ. |
| | De Rogo de Molendiñ . . . | . | vij.s.vj.đ. | . | vij.s.vj.đ. |
| | De Walfo de Molendiñ . . . | . | v.s. | . | v.s. |
| | De Alexandř de Cromale . . . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| Virgatař. | De Iuo de la Graue . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Johe de la Graue . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Reginald Tony . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Walfo de Brenkewrth' . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Wiffo Partrých . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Hugoñ Schus . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Wiffo piscatore . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Wiffo Iue . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Thoma de Cimiřio . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Hugoñ le Bacheler . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Johe de Brokinbge . . . | ij.đ.ō. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| | De Thoma le Bochýare . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Henř le Wýn . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Ričo le Thonge . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Ričo le Cartare . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Račo Tony . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Thoma fit Robti . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Alič de Grenhuft . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Walfo South . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Wiffo le Persoñ . . . | ij.đ. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. | ij.đ.ō. |
| | De Marģ la Hýdlýng . . . | iiij.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. |
| | De Wiffo le Kýng . . . | iiij.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. |
| | De Rořto le Kýng . . . | iiij.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. |
| | De Walfo Longo . . . | iiij.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. | v.đ. |
| | De Regiñ Partrých . . . | ōb. | ōb. | ōb. | ōb. |
| | De Wiffo le Akerman. | | | | |
| | De Thoñ le Akerman. | | | | |
| | De Juliañ la Noreys . . . | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. |

Sñ^u Redd sđi Michis .ix.s. .vij.đ.ō.Sñ^u Redd sđi Andree .xxx.s. .x.đ.ḡ^u.Sñ^u Redd Annūciacōis .x.s. .x.đ.ḡ^u.Sñ^u Redd sđi Johis .xxx.s. .x.đ.ḡ^u.Sñ^u tocius Redditus de Niwentoñ p annum .iiij.fi. .ij.s. .ij.đ.ḡ^u.Sñ^u Gař de Cherechř .xxxij. Et dant alřo anno p .iiij. minus.Sñ^u ouoř ad Pasčř .vj. c. & xxx. p maius .c. Dař ut sup^u.

Rotulus redditual factus de BROKINEBERG⁹, anno regni regis E. xij^o.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---|--|---|---|---|
| De pagano de Brokeneb ⁹ ge . | xxviij.đ. | xxviij.đ. | xxviij.đ. | ij.s. |
| De terra q ^o ndā Sýmoñ petri . | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vij.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Walŕo Martýn . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Johe de Walecote . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Ričo le Heyward . | } vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Johe le Thonge . | | | | |
| De Johe Vmbald . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Alič de Sottone . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Thoma de Aqua . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Walŕo le Paumer . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Johe ultra aquam . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Wiŕfo le Boye . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Wiŕfo piscatore . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Ričo Dreu . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Edith la Thonge . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Rogo de fraxino . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Adam Turketýl . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Wiŕfo in la More . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Thoñ le Niweman . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Nicŕo in la More . | vij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | |
| De Johe de Aqua . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Roŕto fit p ^o positi . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Ričo le louegrom . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Matild in la More . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Philipŕ in la More . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Roŕto Edward . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Walŕo in la More . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| De Johe Rodeman . | ij.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | S ^m ^u .xiiij.s.iiij.đ. | S ^m ^u .vj.s.vj.đ. | S ^m ^u .vj.s.vj.đ. | S ^m ^u .ij.s.vj.đ. |

KYNEGARESHEY.

| | | | | |
|------------------------|--|---|--|---|
| De Adam le Wýtecnane . | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | x.đ. |
| De Elyā Heued . | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Johe Thorugod . | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. |
| De Alwýne le Bonc . | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. | iiij.đ. |
| De terra de la lupe . | xiiij.đ. | | xiiij.đ. | |
| | S ^m ^u .iiij.s.v.đ. | S ^m ^u .ij.s.iiij.đ. | S ^m ^u .iiij.s.v.đ. | S ^m ^u .ij.s.ij.đ.ō. |

| | Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---|--|---|---|---|---|
| WALECOTE, THORHULLE, & BORUTONE. | | | | | |
| | De Ničo le Wrog | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. |
| | De Wiſto le Wrog | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xiiij.đ. | xij.đ. |
| | De Terra Gorwy | ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . | ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . | ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . | ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . |
| | De Roſto le Schutel | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. |
| | De Cecilia Daniel | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| | De Roġo le Gag | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. |
| | | S ^m ^u .v.s.j.đ.ŕ ^u . | S ^m ^u .v.s.j.đ.ŕ ^u . | S ^m ^u .v.s.j.đ.ŕ ^u . | S ^m ^u .iiij.s.xj.đ.ŕ ^u . |
| CLEUERDONE. | | | | | |
| | De Adam de la Cumbe | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Henř le Carpent ^r | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. |
| | De Wiſto de Cȳmiſio | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. | ij.s.ij.đ. |
| | De Roſto le Kene | ij.s.j.đ. | ij.s.j.đ. | ij.s.j.đ. | ij.s.j.đ. |
| | De Ričo le Brode | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ.ō. | xij.đ. |
| | De Ričo le Buriman | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| | De Walſo de Wynekewrth | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | ix.đ.ō. | vij.đ.ō. |
| | De Leticia Blisse | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Johe de fraxino | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Johe le Irayſ | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Henř le Punz | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Roſto Alysaundre | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Roſto Pyllok | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| | De Roſto de la Knolle | j.đ. | j.đ. | j.đ. | |
| Cotsecti. | De Matild de Smethemed | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. |
| | De Sibiff Lockes | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. | ij.đ. |
| | | S ^m ^u .ix.s.ij.đ.ō. | S ^m ^u .ix.s.ij.đ.ō. | S ^m ^u .ix.s.ij.đ.ō. | S ^m ^u .viiij.s.ij.đ. |
| Akerman. | Witſs Steuene. | Roſtus de Angulo. | Witſs le Feuere. | | |
| | Witſs Morcok. | Joheſ de Angulo. | Joheſ Elȳs. | | |
| | Petrus Vmbald. | Joheſ de Heuene. | Ricardus faber. | | |
| | S ^m ^u toci ^o Redd ſci Mich .xxxij.s. ō.ŕ ^u . | | S ^m ^u toci ^o Redd ſci Andř .xxiiij.s. .ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . | | |
| | S ^m ^u toci ^o Redd Annūciac .xxiiij.s. .ij.đ.ō.ŕ ^u . | | S ^m ^u Redd ſci Joſ .xviij.s. ō.ŕ ^u . | | |
| | S ^m ^u toci ^o Redd de Brokeneſge .iiij.ti. .xviij.s. .viiij.đ. | | S ^m ^u Gallinař de Cheř .vij ^{xx} . & ix. | | |
| | Et dant in alſo anno min ^o p .viiij. | | S ^m ^u Redd Gaſſ ad Natař .xlviij. | | |
| | S ^m ^u ouoř ad Paſch vj ^c . p mai ^o .c. Dař ut ſup ^u . | | | | |

Redditus libroř coquinař p̄cipiend.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|---------------------------------|------------|----------|--------------|-----------|
| De molend de Brokeneſge | | x.ſ. | | x.ſ. |
| De molend de Bremelham | | xiiij.s. | | xiiij.s. |

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| De ſra q̄ndam frary | | iiij.ſ. | | |
| De Wiſſo de Aula | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| De Roḡo le Brech | xl.đ. | xl.đ. | xl.đ. | xl.đ. |
| De Wybto de Cherletoñ | xl.đ. | xl.đ. | xl.đ. | xl.đ. |
| De Adam Martýn | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. | xviiij.đ. |
| De Robto Midewinſ | xxij.đ. | xxij.đ. | xxij.đ. | xxij.đ. |
| De westmolendino | vj.ſ.viiij.đ. | vj.ſ.viiij.đ. | vj.ſ.viiij.đ. | vj.ſ.viiij.đ. |
| S̄m̄ ^u .xviij.ſ.xj.đ. S̄m̄ ^u .xliij.ſ.xj.đ. S̄m̄ ^u .xviij.ſ.xj.đ. S̄m̄ ^u .xl.ſ.xj.đ. | | | | |

S̄m̄^u toci^o Redđ Coquinař de Brokenbge .vj.ſi. .viiij.đ.

LUTLETONE. Rotulus redditualis factus de Lutletone, anno regni regis E. xij^o.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| De Editha vidua | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Henř Boys | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Edwardo Botýld | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Wiſſo Rolf | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Thoma Alstýchele | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Thoñ fiť Johis | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Ričo fiť Radi | iiij.ſ.xj.đ.ō.ſ.ſ.đ. | iiij.ſ.iiij.đ. | iiij.ſ.iiij.đ. | iiij.ſ.iiij.đ. |
| De Wiſſo Sewý | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Criſtiñ Relicta Henř | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Agath de Gardiñ | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De ſra Robti de Alstýchele | viiij.đ.ō. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. | xvj.đ. |
| De Matild vp in toun | iiij.đ.ſ.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. |
| De Alič de Gardino | iiij.đ.ſ.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. |
| De Thoñ Wýsman | iiij.đ.ſ.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. |
| De Roḡo de Stocke | iiij.đ.ſ.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. |
| De Adam de Stocke | x.đ.ſ.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. | viiij.đ. |
| De Johe fiť ppositi | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. | xj.đ.ō. |
| De Roḡo Modý. | | | | |
| De Editha vidua | vj.đ. | | | |
| De Alič relicť Heywardi | xviiij.đ. | | | |
| De Thoma Beauforest | iiij.ſ. | | | |
| De tota villa | j.đ. | | | |
| De Thoñ le Frankelayn | xij.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. | vj.đ. |
| De Adam de Nywenton | v.ſ. | v.ſ. | v.ſ. | v.ſ. |
| De Gurgite | vj.đ. | quem hoies de Conhulle tenent. | | |

S̄m̄^u Redđ ſci Michis .xxv.ſ. .x.đ.ō.

S̄m̄^u Redđ Annunciaçōis .xxv.ſ. .iiij.đ.ō.

S̄m̄^u toci^o Redđ de Lutletoñ .v.ſi. .ij.ſ.

De Turno ſci Martini .vj.ſ. .viiij.đ.

De annuo dono .xiiij.ſ. .iiij.đ.

S̄m̄^u Redđ ſci Andree .xxv.ſ. .iiij.đ.ō.

S̄m̄^u Redđ ſci Joñ .xxv.ſ. .iiij.đ.ō.

De auxilio p̄dçoz in feſto ſci Martini .xiiij.ſ. .iiij.đ.

De Turno de la Hockeday .vj.ſ. .viiij.đ.

S̄m̄^u .xl.ſ.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
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| De Plumwere . . . | xiiij. s. iiij. d. | . | xiiij. s. iiij. d. | . |
| De Lamyhanger . . . | vj. s. viij. d. | . | vj. s. viij. d. | . |
| De decimis de Lamyhang ^o . . . | vij. s. | . | . | . |
| Item de Decimis de Scýrreue- nywentoñ . . . | xiiij. s. iiij. d. in festo scī Michis. S ^m .xl. s. iiij. d. | . | S ^m .xx. s. | . |
| | S ^m .tocius Redd Waff .lx. s. .iiij. d. | . | . | . |

Rotulus reddituat fēus de COLERNE, anno regni reḡ E. duodecimo.

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| De Thoma de Aula . . . | vj. d. | . | . | . |
| De Agnete de Puteo . . . | iiij. d. | . | . | . |
| De Wiffo de Lockeham . . . | vij. d. 6. | viiij. d. 6. | viiij. d. 6. | vij. d. 6. |
| De Rogo Basely . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Walfo de Lockeham . . . | vij. d. | . | vij. d. | . |
| De Wiffo de Wytenhasche . . . | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. |
| De Wiffo Hardyng . . . | xviiij. d. | . | xviiij. d. | . |
| De Johe Soutare . . . | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. |
| De Thoma le Jeouene . . . | xij. d. | . | xij. d. | . |
| De Wiffo Textore . . . | . | j. d. | . | . |
| De Juliañ Textrice . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Juliañ la Tayllur . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Matild la Prestes . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Riço le Tayllur . . . | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. | vj. d. |
| De Matho Pistore . . . | iiij. d. | . | . | . |
| De Adam Cnotte . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Wiffo Ingolf . . . | j. d. | . | . | . |
| De Hawysa Cnotte . . . | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. | iiij. d. |
| De Raðo de Slauðford . . . | . | . | ob. | . |
| | S ^m .iiij. s. xj. d. | S ^m .vj. s. xj. d. 6. | S ^m .vj. s. xj. d. 6. | S ^m .iiij. s. x. d. 6. |
| | S ^m .tocius Redd de Colerñ .xxij. s. .x. d. 6. | . | . | . |

Rotulus reddituat factus de LA BLAKELONDE, anno regni Regis E. xij^o.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| De Dña Milecent de Monhaute . . . | j. q ^u rt pipis. | . | . | . |
| De Johe de Astone . . . | j. q ^u rt pipis. | . | . | . |
| De Dño Rogo de Kalstoñ . . . | j. lib ^r cimiñ. | . | . | . |
| De Adam le Chaumblayn . . . | ix. d. | ix. d. | ix. d. | ix. d. |
| De Roðto de Thurlebý . . . | ix. d. | ix. d. | ix. d. | ix. d. |
| De Adam Petýt . . . | ij. s. | . | . | . |
| De Johe Ouyot . . . | ij. s. iiij. d. | ij. s. iiij. d. | ij. s. iiij. d. | ij. s. iiij. d. |

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| De Isabella vidua | j.đ.oš. | | | j.đ.š. |
| De Alicia de Sanes | iiij.đ. | | | iiij.đ.š. |
| De molendinař | iiij.đ.š. | | | iiij.đ.š. |
| De Rořto le Cnaue | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. |
| De Agņ Relicř Walři Rolf | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. | iiij.đ.š. |
| | Sm ^u .vij.s.ij.đ. | Sm ^u .iiij.s.vj.đ. | Sm ^u .iiij.s.vj.đ. | Sm ^u .v.s.ij.đ. |

Sm^u tocius Redditus de Blakelonde .xxj.s. .iiij.đ.

Sm^u Gař de Čeř .xl^u.

De auxilio villař ad festum Sancti Michael.

| | | | |
|------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|
| De Walřo Petýt | ij.s. | De Rořo Berteloth | ij.s. |
| De Adam Godýnř | ij.s. | De Joře Cute | ij.s. |
| De Joře Ouyot | ij.s. | De Agņ Relicř Walři Rolf | xij.đ. |
| De Rořo Alrich | ij.s. | De Ričo Euerard | ij.s. |
| De Rořto Cnaue | xij.đ. | De Isabella vidua | ij.s. |

Sm^u.xviij.s.š.

KEMELE.

| Terminus Sancti | Michaelis. | Andree. | Annūciacōis. | Johannis. |
|------------------------------------|------------|------------|--------------|----------------|
| Domino Abbati | lij.s.j.đ. | lv.s.xj.đ. | lij.s.vij.đ. | liij.s.xj.đ.š. |
| Coquinario | xij.s. | vij.s. | xij.s. | vij.s. |
| Pitancario | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| Item Abbtis de Redđ ecclie | vij.s.v.đ. | vij.s.v.đ. | vij.s.v.đ. | vij.s.v.đ. |

Sm^u Redđ Abbtis cū Redđ ecclie .xij.ti.vij.s.

Coquinař .xxxvij.s.

Pitanč .v.s.

CREDDEWELL.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Domino Abbtis | iiij.ti.vij.s.iiij.đ.š. | lxij.s.v.đ. | lxiiij.s.vij.đ.š. | xxxix.s.vj.đ.š. |
| Coquinař | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. | xv.đ. |
| Pitanč | xiiij.s.iiij.đ.š. | vj.s.ix.đ.š. | xiiij.s.xj.đ. | vj.s.ix.đ.š. |
| Sacriste | lxv.s.iiij.đ. | per annum. | | |

Sm^u Redđ Abbtis .xij.ti.xiiij.s.xj.đ.š.

Coquinař .v.s.

Sac'ste .lxv.s.iiij.đ.

Pitanciař .xlj.s.ix.đ.š.

Et inde pcipit abbas .xij.đ.

CHERLETONE.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| Domino Abbati | xxv.s.x.đ.š.ř ^u . | xij.s.vij.đ. | xj.s.xj.đ. | vij.s.vij.đ. |
| Coquinař | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. |
| duř. Elemosinař. | | | | |

Sm^u Redđ Abbtis .lix.s.š.ř^u.

Coquinař .xxx.s.

Elemosinař.

Terminus Sancti Michaelis. Andree. Annūciacōis. Johannis.

PURITONE.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|
| Domino Abbati | . | . | . | xxxix.s.iiij.đ. | xx.s.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . | xxiiij.s.j.đ.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . | xv.s.xj.đ.ō. |
| Coquinař | . | . | . | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. | vij.s.vj.đ. |
| Priori | . | . | . | xviiij.đ. | . | xviiij.đ. | . |

S^m Redd Abb^{tis} .iiij.fi.xix.s.v.đ. Coquinař .xxx.s. Prior .iiij.s.

BREMEL.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|---|---|---|-------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| Domino Abbati | . | . | . | iiij.fi.vj.s.x.đ. | iiij.fi.iiij.s.iiij.đ. | iiij.fi.iiij.s.iiij.đ. | lxxix.s.j.đ.ō. |
| Coquinař | . | . | . | . | x.s. | . | . |
| Pitanciař | . | . | . | . | . | iiij.s. | . |

S^m Redd Abb^{tis} .xvj.fi.xij.s.vij.đ.ō. Coquinař .x.s. Pitanciař .iiij.s.

BLAKELONDE.

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|---------------|---|---|---|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|
| Domino Abbati | . | . | . | xxv.s.ij.đ. | iiij.s.vj.đ. | iiij.s.vj.đ. | v.s.ij.đ. |
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S^m tocius Redd de Blakelonde .xxxix.s.iiij.đ.

SUTTONE.

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|---------------------------|---|---|---|-------------|------------------|---------|--------------|
| Domino Abb ^{tis} | . | . | . | iiij.s.v.đ. | lxiiij.s.ix.đ.ō. | lx.s.ō. | lx.s.iiij.đ. |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|-------------|------------------|---------|--------------|

S^m tocius Redd de Suttone .ix.fi.viiij.s.vij.đ. Set međ quod Coquinař pcipit inde In ħminis
Annūciacōis et s^ci Joh .v.s.j.đ.ō.

COUFAUDE.

|| Pro Melegauet.

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|---|--------------|------------|---------------|------------------|
| Domino Abb ^{tis} | . | . | . | liij.s.ix.đ. | xxv.s.j.đ. | xxij.s.vij.đ. | xix.s.viiij.đ.ō. |
| Coquinař | . | . | . | . | x.s. | . | x.s. |
| Pitanciař | . | . | . | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. | ij.s.vj.đ. |

S^m Redd Abb^{tis} .vj.fi.ij.s.j.ō. Coquinař .xx.s. Pitanciař .x.s.

NORTHONE.

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|---------------|---|---|---|-----------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Domino Abbati | . | . | . | x.s.vj.đ. | v.s.iiij.đ. | iiij.s.iiij.đ. | iiij.s.iiij.đ. |
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S^m tocius Redd de Norton .xxiiij.s.vj.đ.

BROKINEBERGE.

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|---------------------------|---|---|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Domino Abb ^{tis} | . | . | . | xxxij.s.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . | xxiiij.s.ij.đ.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . | xxiiij.s.iiij.đ.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . | xviiij.s.ō.ḡ ^{ac} . |
| Coquinař | . | . | . | xvij.s.xj.đ. | xliij.s.xj.đ. | xvij.s.xj.đ. | xl.s.xj.đ. |
| Pitanciař | . | . | . | viiij.s.ix.đ. | viiij.s.ix.đ. | viiij.s.ix.đ. | viiij.s.ix.đ. |

S^m Redd Abb^{tis} .iiij.fi.xvij.s.vij.đ. Coquinař .vj.fi.viiij.đ. Pitanciař .xxxv.s.

Terminus Sancti Michaelis. Andree. Annūciacōis. Johannis,

NIWENTONE.

Domino Abbati . . . ix. s. vij. d. o. xx. s. x. d. q̃^u. x. s. x. d. q̃^u. xxx. s. x. d. q̃^u.
Coquinař x. s.
S^m Redd Abb̃tis . lxxij. s. . ij. d. q̃^u. Coquinař . x. s.

LUTLESTONE.

Domino Abbati . . . v. s. v. s. v. s. v. s.
S^m Redd Abb̃tis de Lutlintoñ . xx. s.

WALLIA.

Coquinař lxj. s. ij. d. o. xx. s. iiij. d. o. xl. s. iiij. d. o. xx. s. iiij. d. o.
S^m Redd Coquinař de Wallia . vij. fi. . ij. s. . iiij. d.

COLERNE.

Domino Abbati . . . vij. s. j. d. o. iiij. s. xj. d. vj. s. xj. d. o. iiij. s. x. d. o.
S^m tocius Redd Abb̃tis de Colerne . xxij. s. . x. d. o. Et inde soluit Domino de Colerne . iiij. s. . x. d. o.
Et Dño Galfrido de Wrokeshale . vij. d. Et Thome de la Sale . iiij. d. Et Thome le Jeouene . ij. d. Et sic remanet de claro Abb̃ti . xvj. s. . x. d. o.

FOULESWIKE.

S^m toci⁹ Redd Abb̃tis de maneř . In festo s̃ci Michis . xxij. fi. . viij. s. . v. d. In festo s̃ci Andree . xix. fi. . xv. s. . vj. d. q̃^u. In festo Annūciacōis be Marie . xvij. fi. . xv. s. . iiij. d. q̃^u. In festo s̃ci Johis . xvij. fi. . iiij. s. . vij. d.

S^m toci⁹ Redd Abb̃tis de maneř p annum . lxxvij. fi. . vij. d. o.
S^m tocius Redd Coquinař de maneř ut sup^u . xx. fi. . vj. s.
S^m tocius Redd Pitanciař de maneř ut supra . iiij. fi. . xv. s. . ix. d. o.
S^m tocius Redd Sacriste de maneř ut sup^u . lxxv. s. . iiij. d.
S^m tocius Redd Elemosinař de maneř ut supra.

KEMELE.

De toto Redd p annū xxiiij. fi. x. s. De Čeř fruñ . xv. q̃^u r̃l̃ 7 d̃j.
De Duobus Turnis xxxvj. s. De Čeř Gař . lxx. Et dant in al̃o anno
De auxilio s̃ci Michis v. fi. p v. minus.
De annuo dono lxxvj. s. viij. d. De Redd Gař ad Nař . xlv.
De Deñ s̃ci Pet̃ 7 pannař De Redd ouoř ad Pasch̃ . m. iiij. c. p mai⁹ c.

Et in alio anno nisi .vj^{xx} et .xix.
De Redd Gaſt ad Naſ .xlviij.
De Redd ouoꝝ ad Paſch .vj^c.

NIWENTONE.

De toto redd .iiij.li.ij.s.ij.đ.ſ^q.
De duobꝫ Turnis .xx.s.
De auxit ſcī Mich .liij.s.iiij.đ.
De annuo dono .xl.s.
De Deñ Petⁱ et pannaĝ.
De Cherechsetſ fruñ .x.ſ^q.rſ et .đj.
De Cherechsetſ Gaſt .xxxij.
De Redd ouoꝝ ad Paſch .vj^c et .xxx.

LUTLETONE.

De toto Redd .viij.li.ij.s.iiij.đ.
De duobꝫ Turnis .xij.s.iiij.đ.
De auxit ſcī Mich .xij.s.iiij.đ.
De annuo dono .xij.s.iiij.đ.
De deñ Petⁱ et pannaĝ.
De Cherechsetſ Gaſt .x.

FULING.

[coqⁱnaſ De toto Redd .v.li.ij.s.vj.đ.
De aux in feſto ſcī Andſ .vj.s.vij.đ.
Item Domino Abbati de auxilio in feſto ſcī
Michis .xij.s.iiij.đ.

S^m tocius Redditus Abbtis de maneſ p annum .lxxviij.li. vij.đ.ō. S^m Duorum Turnorum
de mane� .xxj.li. ix.s. iiij.đ. || S^m tocius auxilij in feſto ſcī Michis .xlviij.li. .xij.s. iiij.đ.
|| S^m toci^o annui doni .xxx.li. .xj.s. iiij.đ. || S^m toci^o recept in denaſ .vij^{xx} et
xvij.li. .vij.s. .xj.đ.ō. || S^m tocius Cheſ de fruñto .c.xvj.ſ^q.rſ et .vj.bus. || S^m toci^o
Cheſ Gaſt .vij^c et .xiiij. || S^m toci^o Redd Gaſt ad Natale .iiij^c et .lxxv. || S^m Gaſt
de Cheſ et Redd .m.ix^{xx} et .ix. || S^m ouoꝝ de maneſ ad Paſch .vij^m.vj^c et .lxx.

Nota iſti ſunt articuli ſuper quibus viſuſ debeat fieri circa feſtum Sancti Michaelis et per totum
annum. Quando neceſſe fuerit.

Inprimis de Redd aſſiſo ſingloꝝ man^oioꝝ. De auxilio ſcī Michis. De annuo dono. De Dñicis
terris quomodo colant^r. De Boſcis. pratis. paſtuſ quomodo cuſtodiant^r. De ſubboſco ſi
vendⁱ poſſit et ad quale comodum. De exitu g^ong et eaꝝ expenſis. De ſtauro. ut de Afferis.
Bobus iugalibꝫ. vaccis. Bouettis. et Juuenculis. Bouiculis. et vitulis. et eoꝝ numero.

De ſtauro Bidencium et eoꝝ exitibꝫ et eoꝝ num^o.
De ſtauro porcoꝝ et eoꝝ exitibꝫ et eoꝝ numero.
De ſtauro aucarū. Gallinarū. anatum. et eoꝝ
exitibꝫ. et num^o. De exitu apium. De exitu
opum poſitoꝝ ad Gabulum a feſto ſcī Michis
in antea et q^ontum inde admittitur. De
aruris ſi plene fiant et certis temporibꝫ et in
quibꝫ culturis. Si ſeruicia manualia more
debito dño fiant. Si Cherechsetſ fruñti et
Gaſt dño ſoluant^r. De Redd Galliñ ad
Natale tam de Wodeward q^om cuſtimariis
ſingloꝝ man^oioꝝ ſi dño ſoluatur. De
Remanſ Gaſt die cinerum p maneria et Redd
caponum. Cymini et alⁱus Redditus. De
Turno de la Hockeday cum pquisitis turni

eiuſdem. De finibus Turni ſcī Martini et de
la Hokeday et eiuſdem pquisitis tam in
denaſ q^om in Gaſt et puff. De Columbariis
qualiter reſpondeant. Item q^ontum ſingule
Dayerie p pondus et numerū ſoluunt tam de
caſeo q^om de Butyro. Item quibꝫ diebꝫ
inceperunt face caſeum et de Diuiſione tem-
poris de num^o augmentando et decreſcendo.
et quo die illum face ceſſauerunt. De ma-
neriis et eoꝝ domibꝫ. Claſturis. Gardinis.
vineis. ſepibus. et omibꝫ curie circumſtan-
ciis ſi bñ cuſtodiant^r. Si terre marⁱent^r et
compoſtient^r pro ut facultas locoꝝ exiĝit.
Et ſi ad ea facienda ſicut neceſſarium eſt p
cuſtodes eorū habuⁱnt. De Balliuis. ppoſitis.

seruientibz. wodewardis. messoribus. ⁊ aliis
tam forinsecis q^m intrinsecis prouidendis ⁊
intrandis ⁊ plegiis inueniendis.

De visu infra Abbathiam faciendo ut de equis
ad Carectas. De ferro ad fabricam. De
Bresio ad Breseriam. De lardario proui-
dendo. De Tannaria. De porcheria abbie
qd instauretur scdm qd possit sufficien^l
sustineri.

KEMELE.

Operações p annū .xxxiiij. li.
De Cheř fruñti .xv. q^u rē. .iij. buš.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresij de frumento .vij^{xx} ⁊
xvj. q^u rē preter incrementa.

CREDDEWELLE.

Operações p annū .xlv. li. xvj. s. iij. d.
De Cheř fruñti .xxv. q^u rē. .vij. buš.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresij de frumento .ccc.
q^u rē preter incrementa.

CHERLETONE.

Operações p annū .xix. li. xj. s. iij. d.
De Cheř fruñti .vj. q^u rē. .vj. buš.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresii de frumento lxxvij.
q^u rē preter incrementa.

COUFAUD.

Operações p annum .xxxv. li. iij. s.
De Cheř fruñti .xviij. q^u rē.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresii de frumento .ix^{xx} ⁊
ij. q^u rē p^l increm.

BROKINEBERGE.

Operações p annū .xxvij. li. ij. s. x. d.
De Cheř fruñti .vij. q^u rē ⁊ dimið.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresij de frumēto .vij^{xx} ⁊
iij. q^u rē ⁊ dimið preter incrementa.

NORTHONE.

Operações p annū.
De Cheř fruñti .iij. q^u rē ⁊ j. buš.

NIWENTHONE.

Operações p annū .xx. li. xj. s. viij. d.
De Cheř fruñti .x. q^u rē ⁊ dimið.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Bresij de frumēto .c. ⁊
.xviij. q^u rē p^l increm.

BREMEL.

Operações p annū .xxxviij. li. xiiij. s. iij. d.
De Cheř fruñti .viij. q^u rē .v. buš.
Ad assisam Bresij de frumento .xix. q^u rē ⁊
dimið pre^l increm.

FOXHAM.

Ad assis panis de fruñ .xxvj. q^u rē.

BLAKELONDE.

(*Vacat.*)

PURITONE.

Operações p annū .xx. li. xvij. d. ð.
De Cheř fruñti .v. q^u rē ⁊ .iij. b^o.
Ad assisam panis ⁊ Breš de frumēto, vj. (*sic*) ⁊
xvj. q^u rē p^l increm.

SUTTONE.

Operações p annū.
De Cheř fruñti .xiiij. q^u rē. .v. b.
S^m q^u rētoz de Cheř .c. xvj. q^u rē. .vj. buš.
S^m q^u rē fruñti ad assis panis ⁊ bresij p annum { S^m q^u rē
cum incrementa .mc. lxxvj. q^u rē. { ad bres
(*ē s^m creñti*)
S^m opaçonum p annū .cc. xlj. fj. xv. d. ob. pre^l
Suttoñ ⁊ Nortoñ.

COLERNE. FOULESWYKE. LITTLETON'. ⁊
TUDERINTON. ⁊ BLAKELONDE. nullam red-
dunt assisam.

KEMELE.

Ad assis Breš de ord .xxvj. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.
Ad Elemosinā Abbtis .iij. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.

CREDDEWELL'.

Ad assis Breš de ord .xxvj. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.
Ad Elemos Abbtis .iij. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.

CHERLETONE.

Ad assis Breš de ord .xxvj. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.
Ad Elemos Abbtis .iij. q^u rē ⁊ d^j.

COUFAUD.

Ad assis Breſ de ord .xxv.ḡ^urē 7 đj.
Ad Elemoſ Abbtis .iiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

NIWENTONE.

Ad assis Breſ de ord .xxv.ḡ^urē 7 đj.
Ad Elemoſ Abbtis .iiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

BROKINEBERGE.

Ad assis Breſ de ord .xxv.ḡ^urē 7 đj.
Ad Elemoſ Abbtis .iiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

Sṡ^u ḡ^urē breſ fři ċ incrementis .ij^c.iiij^{xx}.xviiij.
ḡ^urē đi.

Sṡ^u ḡ^urē breſ ord ċ incrementis .ij^c.j.ḡ^urē.
Sṡ^u ḡ^urē breſ aueñ ċ increñtis .ij^c.lxxvj.ḡ^urē.
Sṡ^u ḡ^urē fři ord 7 aueñ .m.iiij^c.lxxv.đi.

||Međ quod abbas pcpit decimas apud Cred-
dewelle. Kemele. Puritone. Cherletone. Cou-
faude. 7 Brokenbge.

PURITONE.

Ad assis Bresii de ord .xij.ḡ^urē .vj.buš.
Ad Elemoſ Abbtis .iiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

BREMEL.

Ad assis Bresii de ord .xij.ḡ^urē .vj.b^o.
Ad Elemoſ Abbtis .iiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

Sṡ^u ḡ^urēioz ordeī ad Bresii preł incrementē
.viiij^{xx}. 7 .xviiij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

Sṡ^u ord ad Elemoſ .xxxvj.ḡ^urē.

Item de Bremel ad assis panis de ord 7 siligine
.iiij^{xx}. 7 .xviij.ḡ^urē 7 đj.

KEMELE.

Ad Bresium auene .v^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

CREDDEWELLE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

CHERLETONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

COUFAUDE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

BROKENEBERGE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

NIWENTONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .vj^{xx}. 7 .xvj.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

PURITONE.

Ad Bresium aueñ .lxviiij.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

BREMEL.

Ad Bresium aueñ .lxviiij.ḡ^urē.
Ad prebend de aueñ .lxxviiij.ḡ^urē.

Sṡ^u ḡ^urēioz aueñ ad Bresium preł incrementa
.ix^c. 7 .liij. ḡ^urē.

Sṡ^u ḡ^urēioz aueñ ad p̄bend in abathya p annū
preter incrementa .v^c. 7 .xliiij.ḡ^urē.

Apud Puritoñ. Duo molendiñ.

Apud auene. Duo molendiñ.

Apud Bremel. Vnū molendiñ.

Apud Coufaude. Vnū molendiñ.

Memod de stykkis anguillaž.

De Coubrigge.

De Westmolendino.

Memod de vaccař. De Bremel. Puritone. Ston-
hulle. Coufaude. 7 Brokenebge.

The Ancient Limits of the Forest of Braden.

THE map now submitted to the Society (Plate V.) not only shows the possessions of the abbey of Malmesbury; it includes the district formerly known as the forest of Braden.

Manwood, in his Treatise on the Forest Laws, observes that the only forests in England of which the period of their formation is known, are the New Forest, made by William the Conqueror, and that of Hampton Court, formed by Henry the Eighth. I shall therefore be pardoned if I fail in tracing the forest of Braden to its origin. Of its great antiquity, however, we have evidence in the fact, that in the land-limits of the charters already cited, reference is made to its former name of "Orwoldes Wood." It was perhaps an escheat to the crown in the days of the Anglo-Saxon kings, which history has failed to chronicle. Previous to the Norman Conquest, its southern limit included Wootton Bassett, which, as already shown by the charter of Eadwig, was "intra silvam quæ vocatur Braden." It seems probable that the southern boundary once extended as far as the high road running from Wootton to Malmesbury, where the sterile soil known as "Braden land" terminates, and is succeeded by some of the richest pastures in the county.

Braden, in all probability, was augmented by Canute, whose forest laws may be referred to as affording ample evidence of the severity with which their infraction would be regarded and punished.^a After reciting the punishment which awaited delinquents of different classes, he observes, "nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter majora et non immerito numerabatur."^b Again, he says, "Let every man forego my hunting," and warns offenders that he will require the full "wite."^c By these laws, if a savage dog were found at large within the precincts of a royal forest, the owner was required to compound for the offence by paying the price of a man of middle rank, which, singularly enough, is rated according to the Thuringian estimate, namely, two hundred solidi.^d

Much has been said of the extreme rigour of the forest laws under the Norman kings, who are supposed to have added to former punishments deprivation of

^a See more especially the *Constitutiones de Foresta*, arts. 22—25. ^b *Constitutiones de Foresta*, xxi.

^c —forþā ælc man minne huntneð .loc hþær ic hit Ʒefniðoð pille habban be fullan pite. .DOMAS, 81. *Anc. Laws and Institutes*, ed. Thorpe, vol. i. p. 420.

^d *Constitutiones de Foresta*, xxxiv. *Anc. Laws*, vol. i. p. 430.

sight, emasculation, and amputation of feet or hands; but it should be borne in mind that these cruel inflictions were not unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, and were extended to false coiners and other offenders against the regalia.^a The truculent law of the Conqueror, commanding mutilation of the person instead of capital punishment—*ita quod truncus remaneat vivus, in signum prodicionis et nequicie sue*^b—was directed against all offenders who might be brought within its operation. The tyranny of the Norman princes was, however, most conspicuously exhibited in their afforesting the woods of their subjects which lay contiguous to their own forests. This, in the days when the possession of land alone gave rank and title, must have been grievously felt by their more wealthy subjects, and paved the way to the great crisis of Runnemede. The words of the *Charta de Foresta*, if other evidence were wanting, are sufficient to certify us on this point: “Imprimis, all the forests made by our grandfather King Henry shall be viewed by honest and lawful men; and if he turned any other than his own demesne woods into forests, to the damage of him whose wood it was, it shall be forthwith laid out again and disafforested.”^c

These encroachments were, however, not restricted to the possessions of individuals, they sometimes trenched on the lands of the Church; thus, in the record, Appendix No. 3, we incidentally learn that the wood of Flusrugge, which formed a part of the manor of Crudwell, given by Ceadwealha to the Abbey of Malmesbury, was afforested by King John and joined to Braden.^d It is probable that further research may shew that some of the woods included in the manors of other religious establishments, mentioned in the perambulations hereafter cited, were afforested in the same manner.

In the reign of Edward III. the officers of the forest of Braden reported that in the days of Henry III. the boundaries commenced at a place called Brimynge-bridge, which was within its limits. The precise locality I have not been able to

^a Vide, inter alia, Leg. Æthelst. 14.

^b De Suppliciorum Modo. Leg. Gulielmi Conq. vol. i. p. 494, ed. Thorpe.

^c “In primis, omnes forestæ quas Rex Henricus, avus noster, afforestavit, videantur per probos et legales homines; et si boscum aliquem alium quam suum dominicum afforestaverit, ad damnum illius cujus boscus fuerit, statim deafforestetur.”—*Cart. de For. Art. I.*

^d “This king John, in like manner, within a while after that he came to be king, began by litle and litle to follow the examples of his father king Henry the second, and king Richard the first his brother, in afforesting the landes of his subjects, that were any way neare adjoyning unto any of the Forrestes of the said king. So that by the new afforestations of these three foresaid kinges, the Forrestes in every place were so much enlarged, that the greatest part of thys Realme was become Forrest.”—*Manwood; Forrest Lawes*, cap. xx. fol. 127, ed. 1598.

identify, but we know for certain that it was situated between "Baillard's Ash," now corruptly called "Banners Ash," and the rivulet Garsbourne, and that the line proceeded by the course of the stream to Woodbridge and Garsdon, as far as the bridge which is between that village and the court of the Abbot of Malmesbury. Then ascending, it included the "Vishweresnull" and proceeded to "Shaldeforde," and thence, still northerly, to Braden Brook. Then, including Flisterage, or Flusrigge, it swept round the wood called "the Steorte," the locality of which is still indicated by a farmstead known at this day as Start Farm. Thence by the course of Swill Brook to "Pye Hegge," the memory of which survives in Pike Corner. Then by the course of the Thames to "Halegheston," now Hailston, to West Mill, a designation still retained. It then proceeds to the "Coueldecroyz," which is stated to be within the limits of the forest, but I am unable to identify its precise situation, unless, indeed, it was the cross which stood near the junction of Cricklade High Street and Calcot Street. The cross which occupied this spot was removed about forty years since, and, although that structure was clearly, by the style of its architecture, of a later period than that of this perambulation, it probably occupied the place of a more primitive erection, to which the term *cowled* or *covered cross* might have been applied. From this cross, the line extended by the highway to Calcot Bridge, and thence by "Stokkenlake," or, as it is now called, "Dance Brook," across the marsh to Eisey Bridge, eastward by the course of the Thames to a mere, or boundary, which must have been on the western bank of the river Rey, which runs southward from the Thames, and crosses the high road at Seven Bridges, then known as Langebrygge.^a This stream formed the eastern boundary of the forest, and the next spot recited in the perambulation is the Mill of Wydyhull, or Widhill, the situation of which, on the east bank of the Rey, is indicated on the map. The perambulation states that it was "without the forest." The next place indicated is "Ayldeforde," which I conceive to be the spot known as Woodward's Bridge. A very old inhabitant of the district well remembers the ford here, as well as the mill above mentioned. Shaghebrigg (Shaw Bridge) is next mentioned as within the forest bounds, and the line extends to Lydiard Tregoze, which was also included. The limit then runs from east to west, including the Mill of Migghale, Baillardes Asshe, and the tres divisas,^b and terminates at Brimynggesbrigge, the spot first mentioned.

^a A meadow here still bears the name of "Langbridge Mead."

^b *i.e.* the divisions of the three hundreds of Kingsbridge, Highworth, and Malmesbury. This suggests the origin of the name of the town of Devizes, which probably once stood at the junction of ancient boundaries obliterated in an age long past, and of which no record remains.

The report further states these bounds included woods belonging to the Abbey of Malmesbury, in the various manors of Brokenbergh, Cheorletone, Brenkeworthe, and Purton; also the woods in the manor of Minety, belonging to the Abbey of Cirencester; the wood of the Abbey of Stanlegh, in the manor of Mighale, then held by Queen Isabella; the wood in the manor of Ashton, belonging to the Abbey of Tewkesbury; the wood of William de Grandison, in his manor of Lydiard Tregoze; the wood at Hailstone, belonging to the Abbey of Gloucester; the wood belonging to John de Clinton and Robert Russell, in their manor of Lydiard Milicent, and the wood which belonged to Earl Warren, formerly the Earl of Lincoln's, within the manor of Aldebourne; the woods at Brochure, belonging to Elizabeth Paynel and Alianora de Kaynes, being deafforested by the perambulation made after the confirmation of the *Charta de Foresta* by King Henry the Third.

The perambulation now made greatly reduces the limits of the ancient forest of Braden. It commences at the "Beostock," includes a small stream called Greenbourne, and extends as far as "Colstockesford," proceeding thence by the "two Sandfordes" and the "Calewehille de la Cove" to "Godefrayeshurne." Several of these localities can be identified in a map on vellum of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of Mr. Richard Mullings, of Cirencester, who very kindly presented me with the copy now exhibited. (Plate VI.) The boundary then proceeds to "Sandraggeshok," as far as Canonesweye, which was within the forest, and thence to the house of Henry atte Bourne, and along the stream of the Thames to the land of William atte Brigge, which was without the forest; thence again to the Thames, as far as the house of William of the Mill: from this house it proceeds to the Cowledcross, mentioned in the first perambulation, and so by the king's highway to Stokebridge. Thence the boundary extends to "Widemor," which was within the forest, and thence between the woods of Hugh Peverell and the Earl of Lincoln southerly, until it reaches the "Beostock" before named. The perambulation states that the king has no demesne within the forest.

The perambulation made in the twenty-eighth year of Edward the Third, recorded on the fly-leaf of the Cartulary preserved in the Stone Tower at Westminster, contains some particulars not recited in the others. It mentions the Cowled Cross, and states that the boundary then proceeds by the high road to the cross before the house of John de Coluham, which may have been the cross at the junction of Calcot-street with Cricklade High-street, in which case we must look for the Cowled Cross without the town.

A breviate of the 5th Henry the Sixth (anno 1426) recites the boundaries of

the forest in much the same terms as the foregoing, but the names of places are strangely corrupt. We need only notice the "Beostocke," which is called Buscolke.^a The designations, being no longer appropriate, were soon corrupted when delivered orally. We have numerous instances of this in the land-limits of the earlier charters.

The boundaries of Braden, as ascertained in the reign of Charles the First, in whose reign it was disafforested, are recited in an order or decree of the Court of Exchequer, in a suit between that king and certain persons claiming right of common in the forest. A copy, describing these limits, for which I am indebted to Mr. Richard Mullings, will be found in the Appendix No. 6. From this recital it will be seen that the boundary runs from West Mill to the locality called "The Forty," thence by the highway to the end of Chelworth-lane to the "Frith-end," or "Duchy Ragg," by Munch's Rail, by the brook called Stoke Brook to Stoke Bridge and Scholar's Cross, and so southerly down to the boundaries of Minety, when it proceeds by the course of the little stream called Greenbourne as far as Sandford, or, as it is called in the old perambulations, and in the fragment of the ancient map now exhibited, "the two Sandfordes," then northerly to the Thames. These limits show at a glance how much the forest had been shorn of its ancient proportions at this period.

In conclusion, it will be seen that I have attempted no more than the identification of the bounds of this once extensive hunting-ground. A history of the Forest of Braden I leave to other and more competent hands. Such a history would unfold much that is curious and interesting, and afford us many glimpses of social life in the middle ages. Despite the severe laws already alluded to—for severe they continued to be, though mitigated by the terms of the *Charta de Foresta*—the *Placita*, yet preserved among our ancient records, contain abundant evidence that offences against the forest laws were here and elsewhere many and frequent.^b

^a Mr. T. Duffus Hardy has favoured me with a copy of another perambulation in the General Record Office in which "Beostock" is transformed into Bristoll!

^b Mr. Burt, of the Chapter House, Westminster, to whom my acknowledgments are due for much kind attention, gives me the following proofs from rolls of *Placita* in that depository:—

Placita temp. Edw. III.—Certain offenders against the venison of the Lord King took a stag at "*Benetham*" in said forest.

The like "*apud La Penne*;" and they stood near the pale of the park "*de la FASTERNE*" (belonging to Hugh le Despenser).

The like "*apud Stonhurst*."

Doubtless in those days the maxim “unde habeas quærit nemo” was observed by dwellers within the forest precincts; and the old lines quoted by Budæus—

Non est inquirendum
Unde venit venison,
Nam si forte furto sit
Sola fides sufficit,

if not known to them, were verified by usage in the towns and hamlets around. The lawing or expeditating of large dogs, so rigorously insisted on, might have acted as a partial check upon deer-slaying; but the long-bow and the arbalest, in skilful hands, compensated for the want of fleetness in those animals, and there are never wanting in society men of daring spirit to whom danger would operate rather as an incentive than a denial.

The name of Braden Forest is still used to designate the tract of land in which it was once comprised, but the forest itself has long since ceased to exist. Viewed from the hills below Swindon, the stranger, from the sylvan character of the whole district, might suppose that vert and venison were here still guarded with

The like “in quodam bosco vocato *Colepittesmor*.”

The like “in quodam loco qui vocatur *Cokstall*.”

The like “in quodam loco qui vocatur *Oxeheye*,” et “in alio loco qui vocatur *Wekhurst*.”

The like “juxta la *Horethorne*.”

The like “apud *Chelesworth*.”

The like “in quodam loco qui vocatur le *Fryth*.”

The like “in grava de *Haleweston*.”

The like “in bosco d’ni Willi’ de Granzoun in quo loco qui vocat’ *Troweye*.”

Other localities of the forest are thus mentioned :—

“Et q’d id’m Adam Fraunceys tenuit in foresta p’d’ca unu’ carbon’ apud *Kulstokisford* et alibi in foresta.”

Gilbert Basset assarted seven acres at Wootton Basset.

List of “Bosci de novo vastat,” for which the owners were fined, including *Sandrigge*, *Perhamstede*, *la Barndhulle*, *Horstempnelake*, *Huly et Sterte*.

Regard. Temp. E. III.

“Cepit unu’ damu’ apud *Bennemor*.”

Do. “apud *Stonyhurst*.”

Do. “apud *Burghslade*.”

Nets taken “ad quendam locum voc’ *Hasle*.”

Stag taken “juxta le *Horethorne*.”

Placita. 34 E. I. (?)

Stag found dead “apud *Pukeburn*.”

Do. “apud *Burlade*.”

Certain Malefactors were “apud *Hippingescombe*.”

the jealous care of old; but, on traversing the space included between the Rey and the Thames, he will perceive that the inclosures have obliterated every trace of its ancient state. Time has destroyed even its traditions. The forest laws are no longer remembered, and the terms "stable stand," "dog draw," "backbear," and "bloody hand" would be as unintelligible to the inhabitants as many other obsolete phrases in the statute book.

J. Y. AKERMAN.

27th January, 1857.

APPENDIX TO BRADEN.

No. 1. From the Roll of Placita Forestæ, Wilts, XXI. endorsed "Perambula^c et Metæ et Bunda Forestar^u in Com^u Wilts, tempore Edw. 3^{ui}" in the Chapter House, Westminster.

BRADENE.^a

Custos ⁊ ministri foreste de Bradene dicunt q^d bunde foreste p^dcæ incepunt tempe H. Reg^e fit R. J. apud Brimynngesbrigge q̄ fuit in foresta. Et sic v̄sus occidentē usq^q domū Reginald de la Slade que fuit in foresta. Et inde usq^q Garesbourne ⁊ fuit in foresta p^dcæ Garesbourne. Et sic p rivū aque usq^q la Wodebrigge q̄ fuit in foresta. Et inde p long^u ejusd^m rivi usq^q Garesdone ⁊ fuit villa de Garesdone tunc infr^a forestam usq^q pontē qui est in^l ipam villam ⁊ curiam Abb^{tis} de Malmesbury ibid^m. Et inde ascendendo usq^q la Vishweresmuft et fuit la Vishweresnull tñc infr^a forestā. Et s^o inde usq^q la Shaldeforde q̄ fuit infr^a forestā. Et sic usq^q Bradenbrok^e q^o fuit infra forestā. Et inde usq^q la Steorte q̄ fuit infra forestā. Et sic usq^q la Pye Hegge qui fuit infra foresta. Et inde p long^u aque de Tamyse q̄ est infra forestā usq^q Halegheston q̄ fuit in foresta. Et sic p p^dcām aquā usq^q la Westmull q̄ fuit infra forestā. Et inde usq^q la Couledecroyz que ē in foresta. Et sic usq^q ponte de Colecote q̄ fuit in foresta. Et inde usq^q Stokkenelake q̄ fuit in forest^o. Et sic p Tamisiā usq^q ex opposito le mere . . . q̄ est ext^a forestā. Et inde usq^q la Langebrygg^u q̄ fuit in foresta. Et sic usq^q molendinū de Wydyhull q^d est ext^a forestā. Et inde usq^q pontē de Ayldeforde q̄ fuit in fo^r. Et sic usq^q Shaghebrigg^u qui fuit infr^a fo^r. Et inde usq^q ad stagnū de Lydiard Treigoz quod fuit infr^a fo^r. Et sic usq^q molendin de Migghale quod fuit in fo^r. Et inde usq^q Baillardes Asshe q̄ fuit in fo^r. Et sic usq^q Tres Divisas q̄ fūnt in fo^r. Et inde ad p^dcām Brimynngesbrigge.

Iñm dicunt q^d bosci quos Abbas de Malmesbury tenet infra bundas p^dcās ptinentes ad maneria sua de Brokenbergh Cheorletone Brenkeworthe ⁊ Purytone, Et bosci quos Abbas Cyrencest^r simlr tenet ibid^m ptinen^t ad man^oiū suū de Mynty, Et boscus qui fuit Abb^{tis} de Stanlegh ptinēs ad

^a From the Proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, 4th Charles I. it appears that this boundary dates from the 12th Henry III., and that it was returned 28th Edward I.

man^oiū suū de Mighale quē Dña Is Regina Angl modo tenet, Et boscus quē Abbas de Teuksbur tenet ibidm ptinentē ad man^oiū suū de Asshtoñ, Et boscus quē Wiffms de Grandisono tenet ibidm ptinentē ad man^oiū suū de Lydiard Treigoz, Et boscus quē Abbas Gloucestf tenet ibidm apud Haleweston, Et boscus quē Johñes de Clyngtone ⁊ Roñtus Russel tenēt ibid ptinentē ad maner^o suū de Lydiard Milicent, Et boscus quē Comes Warennye tenet ibidem qui quond fuit Comitē Lyncoln ptinēs ad maner suū de Aldebourn, Et bosci quos Elizabeth Paynel ⁊ Alianora de Kaynes tenēt ibidm apud Brochure, sunt deafforestati p pambulaōem ibidm factam post confecōnem carte p̄dci Dñi Reg^o H. de libtatibz foreste.

Dicunt eciam q^d bunde p̄dce foreste nunc facte p p̄dcam pambulaōem incipiunt apud la Beostocke qui ē in foresta. Et sic usq, Grenebourne simlr in foresta. Et inde p Grenebourne usq, Colstockesforde simlr in foresta. Et inde inl duas Sandfordes usq, la Calewehull de la Coue qui est in foresta. Et sic usq, Godefrayeshurne qui est in foresta. Et inde usq, Sandraggeshoke simlr in foresta, et sic usq, Canonesweye que est in foresta. Et inde ad domū Henrici atte Bourne que ē in foresta; et sic p t̄ram ej^odñ Henr q̄ ē simlr in foresta, descendendo usq, ad aq^m Tamesie ⁊ usq, ad t̄ram Wiffi atte Brigge que ē ex^m forestā. Et sic inl t̄ram ej^odñ Wiffi et t̄rā Johis Hobbeshort, cuj^o Johis t̄ra ē in foresta, usq, p̄dcam aq^m de Tamyse. Et inde p p̄dcam aq^m usq, domū Wiffi de Molendino que ē infr^m foř. Et sic ad le Coueldecroiz q̄ est in foresta. Et sic p viā regiā usq, ad domū Joh Hobbeshort q̄ ē in foresta. Et sic inl t̄rā Hugoñ Peverel que ē in foresta ⁊ t̄ram Johis de Nevyle q̄ est ext^m forest usq, la Fryth q̄ ē in foř. Et inde p fossatū quod ē divisū inl boscū Johis de Nevyle qui ē ext^m foř et boscū Roñti de Kaynes inf^m forest existent. Et sic inl p̄dcū boscū ipius Roñti ⁊ pasturā p̄dci Johis de Nevyle ⁊ paslā Comitē Lyncoln que sunt ex^m foř usq, Stokebrigge qⁱ ē in forest. Et inde usq, Widemor qⁱ est in foresta. Et sic p le Merwey inl boscū Huğ Peverel qui est in foř ⁊ boscū Cofñ Lyncolñ qui ē extra foř usq, ad la Bocchedelynde q̄ ē in foř. Et inde apd la Strode q̄ ē in foř usq, le Heremytecroftē simlr in foř existent. Et sic usq, p̄dcū Beostoke. Et dicunt q^d Dñs Rex nullū habet dñicū in foresta p̄dca.

No. 2. From a Cartulary of the Abbey of Malmesbury, preserved in the Stone Tower,
Westminster.

BRADONE PERAMBULATē.

Perambulaō facta in foresta de Bradene die Ven^ois pxia ante fñ s̄ci Barnabe apli apd Saž anno Regni Rege E. xxvii. In p̄sencia Johis de Berwyke et soçoz suoz ad hoc assign vt pa[tet] in Rotulo de Claryndoñ ⁊ in p̄sencia Wiffi de Roppele Bañi Roñi de Caynes foresta de f[eodo] ⁊ in p̄sencia Thom̄ Thyey, Walñ de Rysun, Jacobi de Grundewett, ⁊ Roñi Hasard viridarioz. Incipiendo apd Betstolke ⁊ inde vsq, ad Grenebourne ⁊ sic semp p Grenebornne vsq, Culs[to]keforde ⁊ inl duas Sampford vsq, ad la Calewehulle ⁊ vsq, ad la Godefrayeshuff ⁊ sic vsq, ad Sandricheshoke ⁊ inde vsq, ad Canewye et sic vsq, ad domū Henr atte Bourne et sic p t̄ram eiusdm Henr descendendo vsq, Tamis ⁊ inde p Tamisam vsq, ad teneñ Wiffi atte Brygge et inde inl t̄ram eiusdm Wiffi ⁊ t̄ram Joh Hobschert et t̄ram Johis Nouy vsq, ad p̄dcam Tamiš et inde semp p Tamiš vsq, ad domū Wiffi de Molendino et sic vsq, ad Coudecrouche et inde p viam Regiā vsq, ad crucē anl domū Johis de Coluham et sic p viam Regiam vsq, ad domū Nichi Hobescort et inde inl t̄ram Hugoñ Peuerel ⁊ t̄ram Johis Neouile vsq, ad la Frithe et p fossatū qd est dimissa inl boscum Johis de Neouile ⁊

boscum Rōbi de Caynes et sic semp inſ boscum p̄dci Rōbi ⁊ pasturā^a p̄dci Johis ⁊ Comitē Lyncoln et inde semp inſ Wydemor ⁊ Peuereswode ⁊ sic semp per la Mereweye inſ boscum Rōbi de Caynes ⁊ boscū Comitē Lyncoln vsq, ad la Battenhende et sic semp p viam vsq, ad Tholnitreshulle et inde vsq, ad la Strode et inde vsq, ad Heremyte Crofte, et sic vsq, ad p̄dēm Beostokē. Et dicūt qđ p̄dce mete ⁊ bounde p̄dcam fforestē solebant includere. Et qđ dñs Rex ext^a p̄dças metas nullū h̄t boscum p̄dce fforeste adiacentē. Et dicūt qđ oēs bosci t̄re ⁊ loca p̄dce foreste appiati que p istam Perambulačom deaforestant^r afforestata fuerūt post coronačom Dñi Regē H. proauī Dñi Regē nūc, set quid ⁊ q^{ntum} tempib; regū sepatim nullo modo eis constare potest.

No. 3. From the same Cartulary.

FLUSRYGGE.

Labbe de Maumburs ad vn Boys q̄ est apele Flusrygge purtenaunt a sun maner de Cruddewelle del doun le Roy Cedwalla e ount en cel Boys seueral del Temps le Roy Cedwalla ou il ad cink cenx annz ⁊ plus dekes al temps le Roy Johan q̄ Lenforesta, e puis cel temps unt en meme le Bois hors de reward ⁊ seueral en dreyt de tote gentz del iour seynt Michel a houre de Nounne desques le iour seynt Martyn a houre de Nounne p^r le pessun sauuer. Auynt Len demayn de La Seynt Michel le an le Roy Edward syme q̄ le Counte de Herford fui a sun maner de Wockeseye q̄ est pres meigme cel Boys de Flusrygge la vyndrunt sa genz e mistrunt Les demeigne pors Le Counte & les pors sa gentz de La vile de Wockeseye en le Boys auuant dit vyndrunt les gentz Labbe e enparkerunt Les pors le Counte a Les pors sa gentz a sun maner de Cruddewell. Tost apres vyndrunt La demeigne gentz le Comte e gentz de La vile od g^{ant} force bruserunt Les portes prystrunt hors Les pors aforce naufurerunt Les gentz Labbe tote La mort, issi q̄ le coroner fui maunde e tot le pays p^r ver⁹ cest g^{ant} defray. Les pors aforce cheiserunt al Boys de Flusrygge e La les tyndrunt quynze iours e plus od g^{ant} force des gentz, issi q̄ nul q̄ fuist od Labbe ne osa Le Boys aprocher La les tyndrunt a force desques tote La pessun fui Waste.

(Translation.)

The Abbot of Malmesbury hath a wood which is called Flusrygge, appertaining to his manor of Cruddewell of the gift of King Ceadwealh, and they (*i.e.* the Abbot's predecessors) have had this wood in seueralty from the time of King Ceadwealh, now five hundred years and upwards, until the reign of King John, who enforested it; and since that time they have had the same wood out of the regard and in seueralty against all men's right from Michaelmas-day at noon until Martinmas-day at noon, for preservation of the mast. It happened on the morrow of St. Michael, in the sixth year of King Edward, that the Earl of Hereford, being at his manor of Wockeseye, which is near to the same wood of Flusrygge, there came his people and put the demesne hogs of the Earl and the hogs of his people of the town of Wockeseye into the aforesaid wood; then came the Abbot's people and impounded the Earl's hogs and the hogs of his men, at his manor of Cruddewell. Soon after came the demesne people of the Earl and the people of the town with great force, and broke down the gates and forcibly took out the hogs, and wounded the Abbot's

^a Sic.

people, even to the death, so that the coroner was sent and all the country to look into this great affray. The hogs they forcibly drove back to the wood of Flusrygge and kept them there for fifteen days and upwards with great force of people, so that no one of those who were with the Abbot dared to come near the wood. They forcibly kept them there until all the mast was consumed.

No. 4. This dispute was brought to an amicable conclusion, as appears by a quit claim of the Earl of Hereford, recorded in the same Cartulary.

Quieta Clamancia Dñi Humfridi de Bohun Cōm Hereford de cōmuna q^am calumpniauit in bosco de Flusrugge.

Nouerint vniūsi qđ cum quedam controuērsia mota ēet inl̃ Dñm Humfridū de Bohun Comitem Herefordie Essex ⁊ Constabulariū Anglie ex pte vna ⁊ Dñm Willelmū Abbtem de Malmesbuř ⁊ eiusdem loci Conuentū ex alia, sup q^adam cōmuna q^am Idem comes petebat ⁊ clamabat habere cū porcis suis ⁊ hominū suoř de Wockeseye qui seruillis sunt condičonis in bosco pđčoř Abbtis ⁊ Conuentus qui vocatur Flusrugge toto tempe annui, lis in hunc modū conquieuit inl̃ partes, videlicet qđ pđcus comes p se ⁊ heredibz suis ⁊ eciam oñibz hominibus suis pđče condičonis remisit ⁊ quietū clamauit pđcis Abb ⁊ Conuentui ⁊ eoř successoribz totam cōmunam q^am clamauit hře in dicto bosco de Flusrugge cū porcis suis ⁊ hominū suoř de Wockeseye condicionis pđče, a die sđi Michis ad horam nonam usq diem sđi Martini ad horam nonam. Ita uidelicet qđ si cōtingat qđ custodes porcoř pđci comitis ũl hominū suoř de Wockeseye condičois pđče porcos ī pđčo bosco de Flusrugge infra temp sup^adēm scienl̃ int̃re pmiserint, tunc pđci Abbas ⁊ Conuenl̃ ⁊ eoř successores rationabiles inde capiant emendas. In cui⁹ rei testimoñ hoc sc̃ptum biptitū inl̃ ptes est confectum ⁊ sigill partium alñnatim appensis roboratū. Hiis testibz Dñis Rogo le Rus, Galfrido de Morlee, Johe Walerand militibz, Henř de Enefeld, Johe de Hanekyntoñ, Rořto ⁊ Ricardo de la Lee, Rogo ⁊ Ada de Cherletoñ, Rořto le Scay, Ada Mr̃tyn, Pagañ le Clerk, ⁊ aliis.

No. 5. Perambulatio Foreste Bradene. (Lansd. MS. 825, fo. 16.)

Humfrūs Regum filius, frater, et patruus, Dux Gloucestr̃, Comes Hannonie, Holland, Zeland, et Pembř, Dominus Frisie, ac capitalis custos Forestarum Domini Regis citra Trentam, Custodi Foreste de Braden vel ejus locum tenenti in eadem, salutem. Mandatum Domini Regis inspeximus in hec verba:

Henricus, Dei gratia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie, carissimo avunculo suo Humfrō Duci Gloucestrie Custodi Forest̃ citra Trentam vel ejus locum tenenti in foresta nostra de Braden, salutem. Cum per quandam perambulationem in dicta foresta de Braden in presentia Johis Berewyke et sociorum suorum nuper per literas patentes dñi E. quondam Regis Anglie progenitoris nostri ad perambulationem illam faciend assignatorum incipiendum apud Buscolke et inde usque Greneborne et sic semper per Greneborne usque Kulscokeforde, et inde usque inter duas Sampforde usque ad la Calawellhulle, et inde usque ad Grodefrayeshull, et sic usque ad Sandrychshoke, et inde usque Canonweye, et sic usque domum Henr. ate Borne, et sic per terram ejusdem Henr. descendendo usque Tamič et inde per Tamis usque ad terram Willm̃i ate Bryggs, et inde inter terram ejusdem Willm̃i et terram Johis Hobbshorte et terram Johis Nonye usque ad prædictam Tamič, et inde semper per Tamič usque ad domum Willm̃i de Molend, et sic usque ad Covdecrouch, et inde per viam Regiam usque ad domum Nichi Hobbescort, et inde inter terram

Hugonis Pevreſſ et terram Johis de Nevyle usque ad la Frythe, et inde per fossatum quod est divisa inter boscum Johis de Nevyle et boscum Robti de Keyns, et sic semper per la Morewaye inter boscum com^o Lincolni usque ad Ratedelyngs, et sic semper per viam usque ad Tolmtreshuſſ, et inde usque ad Strode, et inde usque Heremytescrofts, et sic ad predictam Buscoke, fcam et in cancellaſ ipsius progenitoris nostri retornatam, sit compertum quod predictae sunt meſ et bunde predictae foreste de Braden ante tempus coronacionis H. Idm Rex extra predictas metas nullum habuit boscum predictae foreste adjacentem prout in literis patentibus Dñi Henrici nuper Regis Anglie patris nostri de exemplificatione perambulacionis predictae plenius continetur. Ideo vobis mandamus quod Abbatem et Conventum de Circeſtſ contra tenorem perambulacionis predictae non molestetis, perturbetis in aliquo, seu gravetis, prout in eadem perambulatione exemplificata plenius continetur. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti scripto remanenti penes quoscumque sigillum officii nostri de foresta est appensa. Daſ apud Westm̄ quarto-decimo die mensis Novembſ anno regni Regis Henrici sexti post conquestum Anglie quinto.

No. 6. Extract from an Order or Decree of the Court of Exchequer, in a suit between the then King Charles I. and certain persons claiming right of common in the Forest of Braden.

And for the better Instructions, same Commissioners did at that time deliver unto the said Commissioners appointed for examination of witnesses Copies of Record, and also a Survey and Plot thentofore of said Forest, by one John Hexam, gentⁿ, by which directions &c. they said Bower and others, said Commissioners appointed for examination of witnesses, found the bounds of said Forest did begin at said Charnam Oak, where was a meare which did divide his said Majesty's Woods, then called the King's Woods but thentofore Peverill's Woods and the Dutchy Woods, thentofore the Woods of the Earl of Lincoln, as also one other Meare which did divide the Woods of the King's Majesty and the Woods of The Right Honible the Earl of Suffolk, and the Wood thentofore called Peverill's Wood, being within the Forest, both the other Parcels of Woods being without the Forest, and from thence by the said Meare to the bottom of the Hill to a little Gutter called Greenbourne, which said Gutter is the division betwixt said Peverill's Woods, which is within the Forest, and at the Woods belonging to the Manor of Myntie, which is without the Forest, unto a place called Sandford, and from said Sandford along the Leigh Marsh, betwixt the waste of Sir John Hungerford, knight, belonging to his Manor of the Leigh, which is without the Forest, and the said Waste thentofore Peverill's, which was within the Forest, to a place called Burnlake, and so by the said Lake to the House of William Messenger, which is within the Forest, and so by the said Lake to the River of Thames, and so by the said Riyeſ to a little Close at Halstone Bridge, then the lands of Thomas Lawrence, gent., which they conceived to be the lands of William At-Bridge specified in the Ancient Records, which was without the Forest, and so by the said River to the West Mills, then in the possession of Edward Pleydell, gentⁿ, and so to a little Lane which divideth the Lands belonging to the Borough of Cricklade, which is without the Forest, to Culver Hay Close, and so by the said little Lane to a place near unto the said Borough called the Forty, and so by the King's Highway to the end of Chelworth Lane, the lands which were thentofore the said Peverill's then being divided to divers persons within the Forest, and the lands thentofore of John Neville then likewise divided to divers persons without

the Forest, and at the end of the said Lane by a Ditch which is the division betwixt the Lands that were Peverill's, which is within the Forest, and the Lands which were Nevill's, then Sir Henry Poole's of Oaksey, kn^t, which was without the Forest, to a place called the Frith's End, which they conceived to be that they then called the Dutchy Ragg, which said Dutchy Ragg, with two other Raggs, are all three within the Forest, and do extend into the said Forest, and shooting together betwixt the Land that was Peverill's to the great Lodge Rails, and so between the soil of the Dutchy Ragg and the soil of said Henry Poole, knight, to a meare which is the division of the soil of said Sir Henry Poole and Sir John Hungerford, at a parcel of Wood called Pouchers Raggs, which Ragg is within the Forest, and so by the same meare to a Ditch which is the Division between the soil of said Sir John Hungerford and said Sir Henry Poole, which Ditch extendeth near to a Place called Munck's Rails, and so by the Brooke to Stoke Bridge, and from Stoke Bridge by a straight line to a Place in Stoke March called Scholars Cross, which they conceived to be the Division between the Soil and Woods of aforesaid Hugh Peverill, which was within the Forest, and the Soil and Woods called the Dutchy Woods, late the Woods of Henry de Lacey Earl of Lincoln, which was without the Forrest, to the Meare, and then turn trow Meare, which said Meare divideth said Dutchy Woods and the Exchequer Woods, until you come unto said Charnam Oak.

